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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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Pro-Slavery.

From the New-York Globe.

NEGRO CONVENTIONS AND POLITICAL ABOLITIONISTS.

The country seems destined to be overrun with Conventions, that are determined to let loose the "largest liberty" upon us. Like a "herd of buffaloes" the fanatics come stamping over our "areas of freedom," determined, it would seem, that every landmark shall be obliterated: at least so it appears to us. First comes a *Negro Convention*, held at Syracuse, in this State, wherein it is resolved that there are fifteen thousand males of the African race, in New-York, who are over the age of 21 years, and are ripe and ready to plunge their votes into the ballot-boxes, to secure to themselves the "balance of power" between the two great political parties of the State. Thus they proclaim in advance (and, for their eventual success, rather prematurely) that *Quashee* stands ready to offer his services to be Jack-upon-both-sides, or upon either side, as may best suit his turn. "Give us but the command of the ballot-box," say they, "and we will show you what nincompoops and nonentities we can transform you into!" And they go on to say that they *will obtain* this position by means of the State Convention shortly to be voted for. But, softly, Quashee: not so fast, if you please! We know very well that the first and greatest object of your Garrisons and Tappans is to organize that body for *your* sake alone, "and nothing else;" but we have sent a few bombs and Paixan shot into your camp, and we perceive, from the consternation we have created, that both white and black in your interest are trying to cover up their stealthy tracks. Honest Whigs, too, who have been deceived by the cry of a "Convention," by the designing men of their own party, are fast repudiating the measure, which is as likely to place themselves in the unenviable attitude of slavery to negro domination, as their opponents, (the Democrats,) for whom the trap has been especially set.

The Whigs are not alone in retracing their steps. The tracks in the snow and the ashes, which tell of the whereabouts of some political abolitionists that hang upon the skirts of the Democratic party, *always for evil*, have been pointed out to the no less astonished eyes of the great mass of our party. The Evening Post, we see, is one of these, who carries a banner set and studded all over with ebony and abolition essayists, who care less for the integrity of the Democratic party than for the success of the Convention, which they think must, of necessity, adopt their favorite measure of giving free suffrage, and the "balance of power" to the negroes. After stating, in its first advances towards the suicidal course it would recommend, that there are several causes and reasons for the amendment of the Constitution, besides the negro question, it thus breaks ground:

"The question as to the negro suffrage is far more complicated, and will no doubt prove a subject of very serious discussion and great division of opinion, even among those accustomed to act and think together."

Complicated, indeed! Yes, it must be acknowledged that, for the purpose of carrying this question you have complicated every other measure with it. There is not a single measure proposed that cannot better be carried out by the Legislature, according to the provisions of the charter as it now exists, than by a Convention. That simple means of alteration and redress will not do for these negro reformers.—We must have all the paraphernalia and "complicated" machinery of a "Convention," to agitate and discuss all sorts of questions, and to unhinge society for the benefit of the negro race exclusively. How came the Evening Post to discover, before hand, that the negro question would come up in the Convention? How came it to hazard the "foregone conclusion," that "Negro suffrage will no doubt prove a subject of very serious discussion and *great division* of opinion, even among those *accustomed to think and act together*?" Was the *wish* father to the thought, that the Democratic party, by having "negro suffrage" fastened upon it, should be broken up and dismembered? If not, why urge this question at all? Why threaten us with "*great division of opinion?*" That there will be such "division" we may assuredly promise ourselves, if we suffer the political Abolitionists to hold further serious converse with us upon this matter. There will be such a "division" that a half a century will not heal it.

Again: the Evening Post, quite after the manner of *Trois Eschelles*, the hangman of Louis XI., tries its hand at raising a laugh even "under the ribs of death." While sacrificing our party, it would bid us chuckle at its poor wit, and resign ourselves to the embrace of the halter. Thus does it again come to the rescue of its negro favorite:

"It will not do," we are told, "to unseal our Constitution in the present unsettled state of the political horizon. The Convention must be Democratic if we expect good to come of it." But there be Anti-Renters within our borders, and they wish to rob us of our farms. Negroes in multitudes darken the land, and they wish seats in Congress. Natives, not a few, and they will be trying to exclude foreign languages, perhaps, from our schools.

Let us wait awhile until these elements of discord disappear, that nothing may prevent our reformation, when it shall come, from being thorough and searching. Nativism is fast becoming a tradition, the Anti-Renters will soon be all hung or put in quod, and by that time it is reasonable to hope that Providence will raise up some one wise enough to prove that negroes are but monkeys with their tails short, by position as they say in scanning, and then we shall be all ready for a Convention; but to agitate that question now will put in peril the very foundations of our Government, to say nothing of our offices.

These are choice phrases; and the best comment we can make is to repeat them, and then leave them to the contempt they merit. The coolness of their application could only be equalled by Louis's provost-marshal while trussing up his victim. "*The Anti-Renters will soon be all hung or put in quod;* and by that time it is reasonable to hope that Providence will raise up some one wise enough to prove that negroes are but *monkeys with their tails short!*"—Unanswerable logic!

Foreign, however, as all this is to good taste, it may be fairly taken as evidence of the continued intention of the Post, and its abolition tail, to urge our party on to the precipice of destruction, and to pitch it over if it can. It becomes all those, who are not to be thus blindly dealt with, to pause, and reflect, and to say to these mischief-makers that we choose to stand still for a while, before we take the leap they recommend, lest we may never be able to retrace our steps. Let the negroes go on and have their Conventions, resolving and re-resolving that they have a "balance of power" of *fifteen thousand*, which they intend to exert, *if we will but let them.* Let them congregate and be stirred up to impotent fury as much as they please by these meddlesome Massachusetts men of the Post; but *let us not abate one inch, not a jot* of the integrity of our party, nor of the decencies of life. Let all New-Yorkers think of this seriously; but let not one of our old Knickerbockers do a deed that, as a New-Yorker, he may regret to the day of his death. And for her—let these same New-Yorkers, of whatever political creed they may be, stay the hand of these Eastern wild men, who would set the whole country in a blaze, and then, like Nero, sing and dance with diabolical joy at the mischiefs they have created! The vote, when it does come, will be AYE or NO; for or against the Convention. Let every man think for himself before he puts in either the one or the other. There is no man entitled to vote, but is capable of judging of this question; and we think, in the present crisis, he is bound, in justice, to himself and his family, to give the matter serious consideration.

Selections.

AN EPISTLE OF ADVICE, AND A STATEMENT OF FACTS, &c.

At a special meeting of the Meeting for Sufferings of Anti-Slavery Friends, held at Newport, Indiana, 10th month, 13th, 1845,

The following document was produced by a committee appointed for that purpose, and read; and after due deliberation, was united with and adopted, and directed to the particular attention of all Anti-Slavery Friends.

DEAR FRIENDS:

As a body set apart to represent the Yearly Meeting, during its recess, we feel it to be a solemn duty to address you at the present time, on a subject which we deem of vital importance to the prosperity of our religious society, and to the general interest of humanity, and the credit of the Christian religion. Our object is to exhort you to faithfulness and steadfastness, in the maintenance of those principles, and religious, social relations whereunto we have been called, and in which we have so often experienced the solemnizing presence of the Holy Head of the Church, covering our assemblies as with a mantle, filling our hearts with love to God, and love to man, and confirming our souls, without doubt, in the belief that the Lord owned, and graciously condescended to be with us in our religious meetings.

We are apprehensive that a time of trial awaits us; and our earnest desire and prayer is, that all our members may dwell so deep in the fountain of Divine love, and live so near to the spring of life, keeping a single eye to the pointings of truth, as to be preserved from being led away from the path of rectitude by the influence of man.

You are aware that the late Yearly Meeting in London, appointed a committee to come to this country, in consequence of the division that had taken place in Indiana Yearly Meeting. And though we could not ascertain, previous to their arrival, the precise nature of their appointment, or the extent of their mission, yet we understood they were to bring over an address from their Yearly Meeting, to us, and from various sources of information, we were led to believe, at least to hope, that they would examine into the cause of the difficulty among us, see which party, or whether both parties, had erred, and offer their advice, as friendly mediators, to either or both parties, and thus endeavor to produce a reconciliation upon the ground of truth and justice. With this view of the subject, we rejoiced in the prospect of their visit, and looked forward with hope to the commencement and final result of their labors.

We well remember that London Yearly Meeting had repeatedly, in its epistles, earnestly entreated Friends in this country to increased activity in behalf of the slave, and once, in its general epistle, (in 1830,) advised Friends everywhere, to take part *with their fellow-countrymen*, in this, and other works of humanity. We knew that Friends in England were largely engaged in this cause, in the same manner with ourselves, and that at least two of the committee, (Josiah Forster, and George Stacy,) were eminently conspicuous among the Abolitionists of Great Britain; and we could not conceive that either the Yearly Meeting of London, or its committee, would, when they fully understood the matter, (and we hoped the committee would take measures to get full information on the subject,) virtually uphold our opposers, in placing us out of the unity and harmony of religious society, and effectually depriving us of its blessed privileges, or that they would unite in placing us under condemnation, for following the advice of that Yearly Meeting, and imitating the practice of its most conspicuous members, and even of the committee now among us, when at home; particularly without an impartial examination of the merits of the case. The committee may say, as many of the members of Indiana Yearly Meeting have said, that they do not censure us for our Anti-Slavery course, but for setting up separate meetings. But it is all sophistry! The setting up of separate meetings was the natural and legitimate result of the proscriptive measures heaped upon us for our Anti-Slavery course; as there was no other possible way for us to enjoy the benefits of religious society: and any censure placed upon us for setting up separate meetings, is censure for our labors in the cause of the slave.

But we must proceed to make some development of the present posture of affairs, and so far as they have come to our knowledge, the future prospects of the committee. This we shall do, in a hasty sketch of events which have transpired since their arrival at Richmond. The sources of information from which the following statement is compiled, we believe to be entirely reliable.

On the first day of the Yearly Meeting at Richmond, the minute of the appointment of the committee was read, and one of their number made some remarks relative to their mission. They also proposed the appointment of a committee, by the meeting, to give them such information as they might wish for. The meeting complied with the request, taking the precaution to have every name approved before it was taken down by the clerk. With this committee, the London committee have had several interviews, of the nature of which we are not fully informed.

They attended the Yearly Meeting throughout, and we are informed, some of them expressed much satisfaction, at finding Friends doing more for the colored people than they, (the committee,) anticipated.

They expressed no disapprobation of their course in regard to Anti-Slavery Friends, of their general bearing towards the Anti-Slavery cause, nor of their voting for slaveholders, and pro-slavery men.

The information of what passed in the meeting, was communicated by their own members.

The day after the meeting concluded, being the day on which the mid-week meeting of the "body members" was held at Newport, the London committee attended it, went to the house of a "body Friend" for dinner, and after dinner made a social visit to Charles Osborn, at Levi Coffin's, of perhaps half an hour. They returned to Richmond the same evening. This is all the instance, so far as we are informed, of their paying any attention to Anti-Slavery Friends, since their arrival, except as a few have sought an interview with them since that time. Several other Friends were present during their visit to Charles Osborn, in the course of which some intimations of their intended course were given, and it was understood that they intended to set out for White Lick the next day.

After they left Newport, several Anti-Slavery Friends thought it necessary to confer a little on the circumstances of the case, and the result of the conference was the following communication, which was delivered to them in Richmond, next day, by three of the Friends who had signed it:

NEWPORT, 10th mo. 8th, 1845.

Esteemed Friends, William Forster, Josiah Forster, George Stacy, and John Allen:

Being solemnly impressed with the importance of your mission to this country, and duly appreciating the arduous nature of the undertaking, we cannot but express our earnest desire and hope that your labors may be blessed to the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, and that when you return to your own land, you may bear with you the consoling reflection, that through the divine aid, you have been instrumental in uniting Friends in this country in a hearty and efficient co-operation, in their endeavors to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed millions in this land of boasted liberty, go free.

As you must be sensible that we, as Anti-Slavery Friends, feel a deep interest in the progress and final result of your labors, we hope you will duly appreciate our motives, and at least give us credit for candor, in making to you the following suggestions.

We understand that your object is to endeavor to reunite Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting, who have been separated in consequence of different sentiments, as to their proper course on the Anti-Slavery question, and of the measures which resulted from this difference of opinion. We are now two Yearly Meetings, and we have understood the object of your visit to be, to act as mediators between us, that we may become united again. Need we suggest to you the propriety of endeavoring to stand, as much as possible, uncommitted to either side, and so far as information may be wanted, to endeavor to procure it in that way which shall be least likely to lead you to partial conclusions, or to give either party room to distrust your impartiality?

Now, so far as we have understood your course, since entering upon the object of your mission, and your plans for the future, we feel bound to say, we cannot view them in a light that is satisfactory.

You have thrown yourselves, as it were, into the bosom of one of the parties, to the neglect almost entirely of the other, the only exception that we know of, being a visit of a few minutes to Charles Osborn. You attended their Yearly Meeting throughout, and requested the appointment of a committee of information, with which committee, we understand you have consulted, as to your future operations, thus giving strength to the idea that you are altogether on their side. The result of your counsels, so far as we understand your plan of future operations, appears to us exceptionable in several particulars. We understand that you expect to call Anti-Slavery Friends together, in their respective neighborhoods, beginning with some of the remote and small meetings, and to read to them the address from the London Yearly Meeting.

Our objection to this course will suggest itself to your minds without our naming it. It may be a master stroke of policy to attack our outposts, for the purpose of weakening our forces, in an attempt to destroy our organization, if that is the object aimed at, but we very much doubt whether it is a course that can be reconciled with the object of your mission, as generally understood. Here, or at least in this vicinity, is the great body of Anti-Slavery Friends—here, our Yearly Meeting is held—here, it was expected you would meet us in counsel, and for this purpose our aged Friend, Charles Osborn, is here, not doubting that if you had anything for us, here would be the place to receive it. And here, it still seems to us, is at least the place to begin. We do not presume to dictate, but we take the liberty to ask you to reconsider your proposed plan.—Whatever course you may see proper to pursue, towards Anti-Slavery Friends, or whatever advice you may have to give them, or propositions to make to them, we think it reasonable that they should be commenced here, instead of at our remote and small meetings. And especially if you intend to convene Anti-Slavery Friends to hear the Address, we would request you to commence here. In conclusion, dear Friends, we would suggest to you, that if you persist in that course, which evidently implies a design to weaken us, by operating upon our remote meetings or outposts, we shall feel ourselves justifiable in taking such measures as may appear to be advisable to guard your friends against any improper influence.

Now we will just add, that if we are under wrong impressions, we hope to be set right, for it is painful to us to harbor an unfavorable thought respecting Friends, for whom we have long entertained so high a regard as we have for those whom we are now addressing.

We expected you would take steps to inquire into the particulars of our difficulty, see where the wrong was, and endeavor to remove it. But if this is not your intention, then we have been mistaken in the object of your visit. We have spoken plainly, but not in an unfriendly feeling, and hope you will attribute it to no other motive, than a desire that the right may prosper.

With the salutation of our love, we remain your sincere friends,

HENRY H. WAY,	BENJAMIN THOMAS,
ROBERT B. BAILEY,	BENJAMIN STANTON,
CHARLES OSBORN,	DANIEL PUCKETT,
CATHARINE COFFIN,	RUTH MAULSBY,
MARGARET BALDWIN,	JONATHAN HOUGH,
JAMES MAULSBY,	GEORGE SHUGART, Jr.
LEVI COFFIN,	SAMUEL CHARLES.

After they had read the communication, the three Friends who delivered it, had an interview with them. They were informed by the committee, that from the language of the communication, they supposed there was a mistake in regard to the object of their mission. Stated, in substance, that they did not consider themselves as mediators, that the concern of London Yearly Meeting, the purport of the address, and their object, were simply to endeavor to prevail upon us to discontinue our meetings for *worship*, and to attend the meetings for *worship* of the "body."

When asked if they would not advise that our meetings for *discipline* should be laid down, as well as meetings for *worship*, they said they had nothing to say about our meetings for discipline. It was stated to them that Anti-Slavery Friends had understood their object to be, to promote a re-union, and they were asked if they would advise us to condemn our conduct, or make acknowledgments to the Monthly Meetings by which we were disowned. They replied, that they had nothing to say, or it was no part of their business to say anything about our making acknowledgments. So that the object of their mission—the great object in view, in crossing the wide Atlantic, and traversing a large portion of this western country, appears to be, solely, to annihilate the religious society of Anti-Slavery Friends, and to persuade its members to attend those of the "body." A privilege not denied to any person.

They seemed to have no view of inquiring into the circumstances that caused the separation, but George Stacy said that he could conceive of no possible circumstances in which he could be placed, that would justify him in suffering himself to be alienated from the body of society. Thus fully endorsing the doctrine, either that the body of Friends is infallible, or that, let it become as corrupt as it may, its members are not justifiable in leaving it.

And Josiah Forster said, that dearly as he loved the Anti-Slavery cause, he could not, under any circumstances, suffer it to be compared with the union of the Society of Friends. Our Friends who had this interview with the committee, do not pretend to give their words verbatim, but the substance.

At parting, the editor of the Free Labor Advocate was advised to "be quiet," and a hope expressed, that if he would do so, their labors would be attended with success.

It may be proper to state, in addition, that during the interview, they were informed that if they wished to see Anti-Slavery Friends together, and to read to them the address from London, they might have the opportunity at Newport, at the close of the Anniversary of the State Anti-Slavery Society, of seeing more than they would be likely to see at any other time or place. They assented to the probability of that being the case, but expressed the opinion, and asked our Anti-Slavery Friends, if they did not think it was correct, that they would have more influence with our members, by convening them in their respective little neighborhoods, than by meeting a large body in Newport; though they had previously asserted that they had no view to "outposts," or motives of policy in their proposed plan of visiting the remote neighborhoods, and leaving the principal body of Anti-Slavery Friends in this vicinity till their return.

The following morning, the three Anti-Slavery Friends who had the interview with the committee, addressed to them the following note, which we suppose was delivered to them before they left Richmond, for the West, intending, as we are informed, to go pretty directly to Iowa.

NEWPORT, Indiana, 10th mo. 10th, 1845.

Esteemed Friends: William Forster, Josiah Forster, George Stacy, and John Allen:

Since our interview with you yesterday, we have upon due reflection, concluded to address to you a brief note, just to inform you that we are no better satisfied with your proposed course than we were before, but on the contrary, our dissatisfaction has increased, in consequence of the discovery that your object is the annihilation of our religious society of Anti-Slavery Friends, without making any attempt to induce the old Yearly Meeting to do anything towards opening the way for our re-union, upon terms which we think we can consistently accept. Now, we wish you to know, that we as well as you, highly value the unity and harmony of religious society, which we now enjoy in an eminent degree, and feel ourselves bound to endeavor to maintain our present position until there is a prospect of enjoying those privileges in some other way. We do not intend by this to ask you to alter your course, but to let you know that Anti-Slavery Friends will take, that they are bound to take, such measures as they deem best, to preserve our religious society in unity and harmony. And that neither the editor of the Advocate, nor any other Anti-Slavery Friend, will feel under any obligation to "be quiet," in the sense in which we understood the advice to be given yesterday.

BENJAMIN STANTON,
LEVI COFFIN,
H. H. WAY.

Our object is to warn Anti-Slavery Friends that our religious society is assailed, with a view to its prostration. Our measures are purely defensive, and in these endeavors to preserve the unity, harmony, and integrity of our members, by warning them of the attack, we feel ourselves fully justifiable in setting forth the foregoing facts, remembering the scripture declaration, that "in vain is the snare laid in the sight of any bird." We have thought it better to set forth the facts that have led us to the discovery of the objects which the committee aim at, rather than to state their objects, without confirming them by the facts.

And now, in conclusion, beloved Friends, we would again exhort you to trust in the Lord, remembering that in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. Trust not in man, whose breath is in his nostrils. As we are thus concerned to dwell near the source of unfailing strength, the fear of man will be banished, and we shall be enabled to adopt the language, "the Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man shall do unto me."

BENJAMIN STANTON, Clerk.

From the London Times.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

SIR:—"An American Citizen," in his letter published by you this day, states that the question of the annexation of Texas is "one of honor and good faith," and then argues it as a measure in which Mexico has no interest.

Let the question be tried as one of honor and good faith.

By the Florida treaty, made between the Government of the United States and Spain, February 22, 1819, the river Sabine was fixed as part of the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, and in the last clause of that treaty it is solemnly declared, "that the United States thereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever all their claims, rights, and pretensions to, the territory lying west of the described line."

This treaty was subsequently declared to be binding on Mexico and the United States, and the Governments of these countries carried on negotiations to give effect to its provisions.

Now, is it in accordance with any sentiment of honor for the late President, Tyler, or for President Polk, to advocate the annexation of Texas on the expressed ground that it is thought by some persons, who have not taken the trouble to inquire into the truth of the statement, that Texas once formed part of Louisiana, and ought, therefore, notwithstanding the express terms of this treaty to the contrary, to be taken possession of by the Government of the United States? Is it consistent with honor or good faith that the United States should violate this treaty, and by so doing endanger the security of the Mexican Government itself?

The proposal for the annexation of Texas proceeded from the United States, and not from Texas. It was not the act of the weaker power, but of the stronger, and has been the result of intrigues set on foot for the dismemberment of Mexico. Your comparison of it to the partition of Poland fails in this, that the distractions of that country, and its continued anarchy, invited partition to secure the peace of the adjacent States. For the seizure of Texas there is no excuse similar to this, or any except the clamor of dishonest men to perpetrate a gross act of injustice.

2. Mexico had a right to expect, even if Texas became independent, that the treaty of 1819 should be respected. It had the same claim to this that the Governments of Holland and of Prussia have that the limits of France should not be extended, even if the people of the Netherlands were asked to abandon their independence.

3. Is it not the intention of the Government of the United States to take the whole territory on the east side of the Rio Grande? Has the consent of the people living on this river been given to the subjugation of themselves to new laws and new institutions, and to the domination of a people speaking another language? They are as numerous as the American citizens in Texas, and have had no voice in the change about to be imposed on them.

4. By the Constitution of Texas, not merely the descendants of blacks, but of Indian blood, are excluded from the privileges of citizens. Most of the people on the Rio Grande, settled and civilized Mexican citizens, are of Indian descent. The State Constitution of Texas will be unaltered when Annexation is accomplished, and thus the Union will be responsible for a most grievous and crying injustice. The Christian people of the Rio Grande will be reduced to a condition of inferiority and of virtual slavery as galling as any the most despotic monarchs have sanctioned. How can Americans say that this will be consistent with any principle of honor?

5. The "American Citizen" says that the United States have no designs on California. The statement is absurd. California must pass under the dominion of America when it shall seize on the eastern bank of the Rio Grande. On the west side there are few Mexicans even of a mixed race, and none of pure Spanish descent. Will the Indian tribes be respected, or a policy be pursued towards them which Mexico itself cannot enforce even in the observance of treaties made with it?

6. Not merely has the United States violated the treaty of 1819 in this proceeding, but the Constitution of the States has been violated in order to effect it. Texas is a foreign State. Agreements or treaties made with foreign States must, according to the Federal Constitution, receive the assent of two-thirds of the members of the Senate. This assent has not been given, and Annexation has been carried by a series of illegal and unconstitutional resolutions of the two houses of Congress. What American, looking to the future, can doubt the effect this precedent will have, or how vain will be the obligations of the law when the people, opposing it, can set it aside?—

"——And what the people but a herd confus'd,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar—and well weighed scarce worth the praise?
They praise and they admire they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other."

Let the followers of Polk answer these words of Milton.

Lastly, the "American Citizen," with the flippancy and bad morality which characterize too strongly the public acts of his country, says, that "nations do not observe the severe and narrow rules which govern private morality," and he adds, "that his countrymen have probably inherited our vices." When he shall have studied morality he will find that its rules are not narrow, and that the most contracted principles are thoroughly vicious; and when he shall know more of European politics he will find their morality better than that which he defends. The degeneracy of our true and modern republican citizens from those republicans who were bred and educated under the English monarchy—from those who thought they had founded a republic which would teach and defend virtue—hardly needed the flippancy of this criticism on us to exhibit its grossness after the many acts that we have seen of the repudiation of public obligations on the part of several of the States of America.

It is no pleasure to criticise Americans. They may be irritated at it, but they may be assured that every man who respects honorable dealings regrets the acts which have excited the censure of the whole of Europe. X. X.

LONDON, September 12.

From the Liberator.

THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY.

BY LYSANDER SPOONER.

FRIEND GARRISON:—A copy of the above work was placed in my hands by the publisher, Bela Marsh, with a request that I would give my opinion of it, in some public print. I feel myself inadequate to the task of a thorough and critical review of the work, but will throw out some of the many thoughts that have arisen in my mind, from a somewhat hasty, though attentive perusal of it. Perhaps a second reading may alter my views. I now regard the book as a magnificent attempt to make alive by the *letter*, where the *spirit* evidently killeth. Mr. Spooner has given us a glowing picture of what the Constitution *should be*, rather than enlightened us as to what it *really is*. He has given us a truly beautiful picture of a republican Government, but the misfortune is, that such a Government has only a Utopian existence. To think of abolishing Slavery by means of such a Government, is, according to the old adage, to place the cart before the horse; for Slavery must be abolished long before such a Government can exist. The abolition of Slavery must be brought about as a means of creating such a Government as that of which Mr. Spooner talks; not the Government established as a means of abolishing Slavery. The abolition takes the precedence.

Mr. Spooner's argument is in the wrong place. It should have been made before the Supreme Court, and not before the people. The people, I take it, are to receive the Constitution as interpreted for them by the Supreme Court of the nation, which is the last appeal in all disputed cases. Whatever that says is Constitution, *is* Constitution, because *it* (the Court) is the only *constitutional* interpreter. Its decisions, so long as they remain unreversed, are the law of the land, as much so as if the Constitution read so in explicit, unequivocal terms. If a decision is manifestly unjust, it is still a *constitutional* decision; and so long as it remains is to be regarded as the supreme law of the land. In case of an unjust decision, the only remedy is to get it reversed by the same power that made it. So long as it remains, whoever swears to support the Constitution, swears to support the unjust decision also. For, as before remarked, that decision is, for the time it remains, part and parcel of the Constitution, as much so as its plainest provision. In fact, a decision of the Supreme Court upon any particular point is to be regarded simply as making clear what was before doubtful. If the language of all the Constitution was so plain that the "wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein," there would be no necessity for a court to decide upon it. But, in the nature of the case—it being impossible to convey to all the same meaning in the use of the same terms—it was found necessary to provide some last appeal, in all disputed cases. The Supreme Court is that last appeal, provided by the Constitution itself; so that its decisions are to be considered as part of the Constitution, so long as they remain. Any other view of this matter, it seems to me, is absurd. For instance, if it be contended that each individual is to interpret the Constitution for himself, then we shall have as many Constitutions as there are differing individuals. Allowing the Supreme Court to decide, we have one Constitution at a time. Allowing each individual to decide, we may have millions of Constitutions at the same time—the consequence of which would be anarchy, instead of Government. I repeat, therefore, that the people, as individuals, are to receive the Constitution as it comes interpreted from the Supreme Court. Private interpretation is absurd and impossible.

If this view be correct, then, as I said before, it is out of place for Mr. Spooner to present his argument directly to the people; except that he wishes thereby to enlighten them as to what the Supreme Court ought to do, and thus induce them to spur it on to a decision in favor of freedom. If this be his object we may admire the goodness of his heart, while we fail to be convinced of the "unconstitutionality of Slavery."

Having settled this matter, to my own satisfaction at least, as to the true position of the people, I shall now proceed to "carry the case up to the Supreme Court." The question is no longer, whether the people are to take the Constitution as it comes interpreted from the hand of that power they themselves have created for the very purpose of interpreting it; but it is, whether that power has given a fair and just interpretation.

What is the Constitution of the United States? It is the document known by that name, construed according to the meaning that present people of the country attach to it. I agree with Mr. Spooner, that the court is under no obligation to inquire what was the intention of those who framed the Constitution. Neither does it matter what was the intention of those who first adopted it. The Constitution is not a Constitution of the *dead*, but of the *living*. The question is not, what did our *dead fathers* mean by it, but what do we, the *living children*, mean. We are not bound to it because they were, but because we annually swear allegiance to it ourselves. The Constitution of the United States, then, is the expressed will of the present living people of the nation. And the Supreme Court, as a servant of the whole people, is bound to interpret it to mean just what the judges of that court know the people mean by it.

The question now is in a nut-shell. What do the people mean by those articles, which are usually supposed to be in favor of Slavery? Do they really mean that those articles shall support Slavery? If they do, Slavery is *constitutional*, no matter how much it is opposed to justice and right. And how shall we determine what the people mean by those articles? Mr. Spooner tells us we must not travel out of the record. Why not, if we are in doubt as to what the record means? Suppose I find a word, the definition of which I do not know. May I not travel out of the record, so far as to ask Noah Webster its meaning? Most assuredly. Well, suppose I find a *string* of words—a phrase—the meaning of which I do not understand. May I not travel out of the record, so far as to ask the people what they mean by that phrase? If, in reading an author, I find some doubtful sayings, may I not ask the author, if he be near, what he means by those sayings? Certainly, all will admit that I have a right so to do. We will bear in mind, then, that the people now living in the United States are, in reality, the *authors* of the Constitution; and when we find their language ambiguous, we may, nay, we are bound to ask them what they mean by such language.

Let it be borne in mind that the Judges of the Supreme Court are not *masters*, but *servants*, to interpret the will of the people. They are bound, so far as possible, to know the will of the people, and obey it. If the will be a bad one, the only remedy for them is to resign their offices. So long as they keep those offices, they must obey the voice of the people. If it were possible for them, in all of those doubtful cases, to ascertain by a vote what the people intended to say, they would be bound to do it. And having ascertained the will of the people, they should either obey it, or resign their offices.

Now, suppose the Supreme Court, in the case of *Prigg* vs. *Pennsylvania*, had absolutely deputed one of its judges to an assembly of the whole people, in order to ascertain what they—the people—meant by the following clause of the Constitution:

"No person, held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service, or labor may be due."

The judge puts the question—"Gentlemen, what do you mean by this clause?" Their almost unanimous answer is, "We mean that the slaveholder shall have the right to take his slave wherever he may find him, and no State shall pass a law to prevent. No one need help him do it, and none shall prevent him." I judge this to be the expression of the people, because such was the decision of the court, a decision in which the whole people, the Abolitionists excepted, have acquiesced. And the judges, knowing as they did, such to be the meaning the people attach to that clause, could give no other decision. If they had, they would have been acting the part of *masters*, rather than that of *servants*. The same reasoning applies to all of those clauses of the Constitution, which are usually supposed to be in favor of Slavery, which reasoning sweeps away, at once, all of those cobweb sophistries, by means of which, some would make us believe in the "unconstitutionality of Slavery." The court is bound to ask what the people mean, *because it is the people's Constitution* upon which it is to decide. It contains an expression of their will. If the will be an atrocious one, let us repudiate it at once, and not attempt to quibble about the terms in which the will is expressed. Viewed in this light, Mr. Spooner's book is a huge quibble, an attempt to give to the Constitution a meaning which the people, whose expressed will it is, almost unanimously repudiate.

Mr. Spooner's definition of law is a true one, but most unfortunate for his argument. He defines law to be "natural justice." Now I wish to ask him, if it be "natural justice" to put a construction upon the language of an individual, which we know he does not mean shall be put upon it. Is it "natural justice" to take advantage of an ambiguous expression, in order to evade the *known* meaning? Most assuredly not. Yet that is the very gist of Mr. Spooner's argument. It is one continued violation of "natural justice," by giving a meaning to certain ambiguous clauses of the Constitution, which he well knows its authors, the people, repudiate. We see, therefore, that his definition of law is a two-edged sword, with which he may indeed hew in pieces the system of Slavery, but its back strokes cut up his argument by the roots. Liberty party has always been guilty of the same violation of "natural justice," in its flourish of trumpets about the "establishing of justice," spoken of in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States. They ought to know that the people mean no such thing as the word implies, when used in its legitimate sense. I apprehend the people of this country would fear nothing more than the establishment of true justice. It is said the judge of a court once undertook to console an Irishman, who was brought trembling before him, by telling him he need not fear, justice would be done him. "May it plase yer honor," said the culprit, "that's jist what I am afeard of." I apprehend the people of this country would say the same, if an attempt were made to "establish justice," according to the true meaning of the word. The truth is, and it cannot be honestly denied, that when the people of this nation talk of establishing justice, they mean a justice not incompatible with holding three millions of human beings in the most degrading bondage. And it is a violation of "natural justice," and, consequently, unlawful to give their language the contrary meaning. If we believe it to be the horrid wrong that it is to hold men in bondage, let us cry, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS," and not dishonestly try to "argue the seal from the bond."

I regard the above remarks as sufficient answer to all Mr. Spooner says about the establishing of "a Republican form of Government." He truly says that "a slave Government is an oligarchy; and one, too, of the most arbitrary and criminal character." And yet he ought to know, that, when the people of this country talk of "a Republican form of Government," they mean just such a "criminal" and "arbitrary" "oligarchy." He must remember, too, that the people choose to tell their own meaning, through the appointed means, the Supreme Court, and not allow him, or any other individual, to tell it for them. Through that court they have said that Slavery is *not* "unconstitutional." As wicked, as unjust, as *unlawful* as it is, thus to attempt to give Slavery a *constitutional* existence, the people have done it. And all the cobweb sophistries that form the bulk of Mr. Spooner's work of 156 pages, fail to prove to the contrary.

I should be glad to pursue this subject farther, but my sheet is full. On the whole, I regard this book as possessing what Sydney Smith calls a "decent debility." The latter part of the eighth chapter is a most conclusive argument in favor of the doctrine of "*No union with slaveholders.*"

Yours truly,
ADDISON DAVIS.

From the Long Island Farmer.

ANTI-SLAVERY AS MUCH AS ANY BODY.

NEW HARTFORD CENTRE, CT.
August 25, 1845.

CHARLES S. WATROUS, ESQ.

Dear Sir:—It is a long time since I have heard from you. Perhaps you are not aware that last spring I was unanimously recommended to the New-York Annual Conference for admittance. After being unanimously elected and ordained to Deacon's orders, my recommendation for admission came up: but I was rejected because I was an *Abolitionist!!*

The circumstances of my advocating abolition were these: last March by request I delivered a sermon on *fast day*, in the *Congregational Church*, of *Clinton*, the place where I labored last year, and among other sins of our nation, I brought in Slavery: and dwelt for a few moments on the annexation of *Texas*, as tending to extend and perpetuate the abominable system. Several members of the Congregational Church in Guilford, a village some nine miles from Clinton, requested me to repeat the sermon in their church, which I did on a Sabbath evening: hence the difficulty. I think such gross *pro-slavery* proceedings ought to be made known to the public, and I herewith send you a brief statement of the proceedings of the Conference in my case, which I would request you to publish in the *Farmer*, and send me if you please *one dozen copies* of the number which may contain the article, and let me know the expense, and I will forward the money without delay. I have joined the *Wesleyans*, who are *Abolitionists* in sentiment, and are not afraid to proclaim against the monster *Slavery*. I am now laboring in a very prosperous church in *New Hartford*.

Yours, &c.
JAMES HARDY.

A LATE OCCURRENCE.

"We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of Slavery."—*Discipline of M. E. Church, part 2d, Section 10th.*

"Actions speak louder than words!" *Old Proverb.*

During the last session of the New-York Annual Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the recommendation of a certain young man was presented for admission in that body.

Several members of the Conference spoke highly in his favor, among whom were Rev. L. Clark, Presiding Elder of New Haven District; Rev. Heman Bangs, of the city of New Haven; Rev. Professor Holdich, of Middletown University; Rev. W. K. Stopford, of Hartford; Rev. James Floy, and Rev. S. Martindale, of New-York City, &c.

The vote for reception was about being taken, when Rev. P. P. Sanford rose and said, that he had strong objections to the admission of the brother whose case was now before them, for "he had understood that he was an Abolitionist!" and in proof of this he would state that a few weeks ago on a Sabbath evening, this young man had delivered an *abolition sermon* in the third Congregational Church of Guilford, Connecticut, and Rev. J. A. Edmonds, the M. E. preacher of that village, would bear testimony to the correctness of the statement, and further, as a proof of the *abolition* character of the discourse, "he had specially made mention of the *annexation of Texas!* and had strongly condemned that *most democratic* measure!" He then called upon Rev. J. A. Edmonds, who rose and said, that

"these things were even so." He further proceeded to state, as proof of his first assertion, that this brother had also, during the early part of the spring, solicited the use of the M. E. Church in Madison, Connecticut, for the purpose of delivering an abolition lecture therein, and furthermore, that he had on a certain evening, about a month before, accompanied an *Ultra Abolitionist* to a schoolhouse in said town of Madison, and took part in the exercises of the abolition meeting held therein! For proof of these statements he called upon Rev. G. F. Kettell, the M. E. Preacher of that place, who rose and gave in his testimony. While the matter was pending, the Rev. L. Clark came to the young man, and thus addressed him:—"Perhaps," said he, "you are not aware, that it is a rule of our Conference, that *no member must agitate the subject of Slavery, or say a word against it*, will you consent, if admitted, to abide by this rule?" The young man could not.

The *advocating* of *abolition*, and the *condemning* of *Annexation*, created deep umbrage in the minds of a large number of the members of that Conference against the admission of the brother; (for there are many strong *Democrats*, alias *Texas-men*, among *them*.) The vilest means were resorted to, in order to injure the young man and his family, and the recommendation was laid on the table by a considerable majority.

Can any one who reads these statements continue to deny that the New-York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is *pro-slavery*? Let them do it, but *facts* are stubborn things.

VERITAS.

August, 1845.

From the Salem Register.

DISGRACEFUL.

We understand that upon last Saturday night, during the meeting of our Temperance Society, Benjamin S. Jones had a piece cut out of his coat which from the circumstances appeared to have been the work of some unprincipled scoundrel that was void of any kind of decency. But the most disgraceful transaction was after the meeting adjourned. While Jones and J. Elizabeth Hitchcock were on their way home, they were assailed with stones. Can it be possible that we are so fast approaching a state of society when all law, order, morality, ay, and decency too, is to be thrown aside, and our citizens insulted and abused if they dare to walk our streets or exercise the powers God gave them? Is Salem, that has been so well known for its morality, and good society, the place where these depredations upon anything like order are committed? Yes, on the same evening, while this lady was returning from attending a benevolent society, she was insulted by some rude boys who no doubt had had the example of elders set before them. It matters not in what acts of benevolence you engage, or what good you do, or how great a benefit you are to society, if you do not adopt the *opinions* of a certain "privileged few," you are subject to be ill-treated and injured, and your life is of no more consequence in the estimation of some than the life of a dog. It is time for us to look into this matter. The evil is growing—a stand should be taken; and we shall speak plain, however much it may subject us to the censure of those who connive at such outrages. We have frequently been charged with meddling with *small things*, but we tell you that from small things great results flow. It is small drops of rain that compose the mighty deluge which sweeps everything in its course. It is from strict attention to the *small* breaks in the banks of the river Nile that those who reside near it have their lives and property saved from destruction, and it is to small things that community must look to protect itself from inundations or tumults that will shake civil society to its foundation. We have had mobocracy reign around us in our sister States, and sometimes in our own State, and we have men who justify this mode of gratifying their passions in our midst. But they should be marked by every friend of humanity, and considered as we consider the rumbling of the distant storms that threatens to eyshroud us—or the convulsions of the volcano before it gives vent to the lava-stream that scatters its inhabitants in terror.

We remember hearing some of our influential citizens, those who *profess* to be Christains, advocating those sentiments that would result in such conduct, and upon them rests the crime, as they may justly be considered the cause. We have those who profess to be our *teachers*, who, a short time since, dealt out such epithets and expressions as would incite the commission of such crimes, and upon them the responsibility should rest. Now which is the better citizen, the one who would *profess* to preach the gospel of Christ, and incite to outrage, violence, and wickedness, or he who would preach non-resistance, and the law of love? and which should be voted to leave town if either?

We hope our citizens will look to this matter, and we are not such a non-resistant but we would visit such outrages as the one committed upon Jones and Hitchcock with the rigors of the law. It is enough to warn us of our position. When mob law gains the ascendency no one is safe; our laws once set at defiance, and every attribute of justice is trampled in the dust.

From the Tribune.

LETTER FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Lexington, (Ky.) October 25, 1845.

Gentlemen:—Your very interesting and flattering letter, inclosing the resolutions of "the friends of Free Discussion, in Philadelphia," has been received.

I have read the resolutions with care, and conceive that you are strictly within your line of constitutional and moral duty, in thus giving utterance to the sentiments of freeborn men.

The question has been again and again asked, in the most complacent simplicity, "What has the free North to do with Slavery?" The slave States added to the Union; the unconstitutional establishment of Slavery in the District of Columbia; its lawful sufferance in the territories, on the high seas, and in places of national exclusive jurisdiction, answer: The North is as guilty of this crime against man's supremacy and immortality as the South; more so, because she is derelect in duty, with far less temptation. But, as no offence goes unpunished, she is reaping the fruit of her sorry policy, by the unjust and disgraceful wars in which she has been compelled to engage—by taxes which have been imposed upon her, by the immense capital which has been swallowed up in Southern bankruptcy—by the hanging of citizens, without trial by jury, and without law—by the imprisonment of her seamen—by the expulsion of, and insult to her embassadors—by the denial of justice in the national courts of justice—and lastly, by the impudent seizure, and forcible abduction of her own freeborn citizens, upon her own soil, and their incarceration in distant prisons. Shall any one be so base as any longer to ask, "What has the North to do with Slavery?" Or rather shall not the cry, henceforth, forever, until the end, be, "What shall the North do, *to* have nothing to do with Slavery?"

There is no question about the people of this Union being in all respects a *nation*. It is true that the States, to a certain extent, are sovereign, in the sense that counties of States exercise some independent powers under the general permit of the State supremacy. But it is also true that the States are no farther sovereign than the National Constitution allows them. If that be the case, then it is plain that, when an unconstitutional act is done by any State, the National power is ample to correct it. The Liberty of the Press, which is now violated in my person, is a right of old common-law inheritance; it is guaranteed to us by the National Constitution, and there is power in the Congress of the United States to vindicate this right. I call upon them to do it. They owe me protection. I owe them allegiance. Better far were it for me that I had been born a wild Arab of the desert, or an untamed Camanche of the West, than an American citizen, if the stern officer of the law, stands by and sees me murdered, while she strips me of the natural right of self-defence. By the laws of Nature, I could proceed against the rebels of the 18th, with stratagem, poison, secret, or open murder. But the law of the land will not allow me to do this. She exposes me to the attacks of enemies, whilst she strikes the weapons of defence from my hand. Is not this condition insufferable? Look at your own wives and children. See your own hearth-stones desecrated—yourselves exposed to inevitable insult, injury, and death, and then turn a deaf ear to my cause if you can.

If this be an unnecessary infliction of the slave power, I call upon the Nation to relieve me. If it be a necessary wo, following in the wake of American Slavery, then by all that is sacred among men, or holy in Heaven, let Americans rise IN THE OMNIPOTENCY OF THE BALLOT, and say, "*Slavery shall die.*" Your obedient servant.

C. M. CLAY.

C. D. Cleveland, J. Bouvier, Wm. Elder, and T. S. Cavender, Esqrs. Committee, Philadelphia.

From the Cincinnati Herald.

ABOLITIONISM IN LOUISVILLE.

The *Journal* and the *Democrat*, of Louisville, are fast making out a fearful demonstration against each other. By their own showing, although, by the way, we can scarcely take them as good witnesses in the matter, they *are* both Abolitionists.

The *Journal* keeps the following quotations standing at the top of its editorial columns:

"I shall not live permanently in Kentucky. I can't think of raising my children in a slave State."—*Professor Harney.*

"Hurrah for Cassius M. Clay! If the people of Lexington get up a mob to put down his press, I would, were I there, take up arms in his defence."—*Prof. Harney.*

"That's a capital article in the Journal about the Lexington outrage, only it does not go far enough in its condemnation of the people of Lexington."—*Professor Harney.*

The *Democrat*, in return, quotes from the *Journal* as follows:—

☞ "ALL MEN HAVE A RIGHT TO LIBERTY, NO MATTER WHAT COLOR."☜—*Louisville Jour.*

"We have ever looked forward to the day when Kentucky should contain within her bounds no bondmen, and we hope to live to see the light of such a day."

"Many of the best minds of the State are engaged with the subject of emancipation; and they will express freely their opinions, and act freely upon them."

"We must make up our minds to meet that question; for no human power can stop it."—*Louisville Journal.*

We advise them both to make a public profession of abolitionism: it would add greatly to their reputation among respectable people.

Communications.

Letter from South Carolina. No. 3.

August 5, 1845.

Messrs. Editors:—In my last communication, I hope I succeeded in giving a satisfactory description of the work on a cotton plantation for the first three months of the year, and I now propose to continue the subject.

In favorable seasons, planting is commenced the last week in March, but generally, not before the first or second week in April. First, however, that part of the sweet potato crop, which is grown from roots of the preceding year, is planted in beds, five feet apart, thrown up by the plough, and finished with the hoe, and occupies not more than a day or two. The cotton land being listed, as before stated, is immediately, before being planted, bedded entirely with the plough, where the land is clear of roots, by throwing up one or two furrows on each side of the list. Experienced ploughmen do this work very well, where there are no obstructions, but sometimes, and always in new land, it is necessary to complete the beds with the hoe, following the plough, for which purpose the necessary number of suitable hands is detailed. A general and early stand of plants is regarded as very important, and which depends on the care and attention with which the seed is sown and covered. There are two methods of sowing the seed: either by drilling them in shallow furrows run on the top of the beds, or by dropping them in chops, made with the corner of the hoe, from ten to eighteen inches apart—the latter is the mode followed on this plantation. An acre is the usual task of a full hand. The hands, from choice, generally work in pairs, that is, two hands in two acres, one chopping, and the other dropping the seed and covering. This is light work, but if it is performed with due care and attention, little time is gained. Among a number of hands, admitting that all do their best, some will be found more successful than others. This may be seen at any time, in passing over a field as the cotton is coming up. It is not uncommon to see in one task, the plants up, and ready for the hoe, while in an adjoining task, a plant is seen only here and there. This, the negroes usually ascribe to luck, but it is the result of superior care and attention. Unless interrupted by unfavorable weather, or other circumstances, the planting may be finished in two weeks. When a stand of plants is not procured, in the first instance, replanting is necessary—it may be considered the principal work for April. By the 20th of April, or the first of May, the corn crop is ploughed over once, and a portion of it twice, the cotton is up, and the hands take their regular tasks for the season. It may be proper to observe that the cotton plant, especially while young, and until it begins to blossom, is very tender and delicate, as much so as any garden plant, and therefore the crop mainly depends on the manner in which the two first workings are performed. If the crop is in good order on the 10th of June, it is considered safe. As soon as the plants are up, the beds are slightly but carefully hoed down, if grassy—if clear of grass, diagonally upwards. As a general rule, it is not permitted to touch the plants with the hoe, or but very gently; it is, therefore, often necessary to stir the earth near them with the hand, but an experienced hand will strike briskly, and near the plants, with such precision as not to touch or injure them. A few days after the hoes, the ploughs follow, throwing the earth on the beds as close to the plants as possible, without covering them, and breaking up thoroughly the ground between the beds. As soon as the first hoeing is completed, the second is commenced, following a few days behind the ploughs, and although at this working, the plants, which usually stand from six to twelve in a chop, are thinned to two or three, and although it is regarded as the most important and laborious operation in the culture of cotton, if the ploughing has been properly done, and heavy rains have not intervened, it is light work. If, in the first two hoeings, every particle of grass and weeds is destroyed, and the earth drawn carefully and properly to the plants, the subsequent work is trifling. After the first ploughing, a plough, constructed to work shallow on the beds, and close to the plants, is used. By the middle or last of July, the ploughs and hoes will each alternately have passed over the crops, at intervals of not more than nine days, five or six times. At the third hoeing, which should be finished by the tenth of June, the plants are thinned down to one or two in a hill, or chop—the sooner this is done, the better. If the crop is kept in good order, the earth is always drawn up to the plants, after the first hoeing. The labor of each succeeding operation depends on the manner in which the preceding was performed, and hence the hands, particularly such as take pride in their work, are always permitted to work in the same tasks. Those who do their work well, are never compelled to go into a task which has previously been slovenly worked. It is, indeed, a general rule, observed, as far as practicable, to continue each hand in the same tasks throughout the season. The day's task for a full hand is three-quarters of an acre, and of half and quarter hands, in proportion, and as not more than from eight to ten acres are planted to the full hand, adequate allowance is made for loss of time from sickness and other causes. The hands can get through their tasks at any hour they please, between 2 o'clock and sun-down; say, in the early part of the season, from 2 to 4 o'clock, but as the season advances, although the work becomes lighter, the weather becomes warmer, and they indulge themselves longer at noon. If from sickness, or other cause, a hand is detained from his work, his tasks are passed over till the field is gone through, when they are worked over by all, or a portion of the hands, before they go into another field. At the close of the day's work, they usually come out of the field in small squads, or parties, and if an individual of a party is not out of his task when the others are, they help him out, so all come out together. It may be proper to remark, that occasionally, with the best management, the hands cannot accomplish their tasks, when, from a succession of rains, and continued damp weather, the grass cannot be destroyed, and the fields become foul. With such precautions as it is the duty of every planter to take, it is very seldom that the grass gets so far ahead that the hands cannot get through their usual day's work, but when such a state of things does occur, address, as well as judgment and energy is required, on the part of the manager. His crop is evidently in a precarious condition, and one false step may prove fatal. His first object should be to keep his people in good heart. Whatever his own fears may be, he must keep them to himself, for while he seems to hope, his hands will not despair. In such a crisis, can any one believe that a rational man will attempt to save his crop by driving his people through their daily tasks by force? No man in his senses would think of doing so. His true, and indeed his only course, is to encourage them by all the means in his power—to convince them that he does not despond himself. If he is wise, he will have a beef driven up in the morning, to be butchered in the evening. His hands, who are as sensible of the state of affairs as he is himself, will do in one day, the work of two. An effort will be made, the grass subdued, the crop saved, all hands will rejoice in the victory, and take a holyday. Old negroes take much pleasure in talking of their exploits on such occasions, not unlike the pleasure old men take in recounting incidents of the Revolutionary war, in which they were concerned.

It has been already observed, that all the hands on the place are seldom in regular tasks, at any given time. All such as are in delicate health, or too infirm to walk to distant fields, and women who nurse, are employed within, or near to their houses, work very much as they please, and when they work out, come in when the regular hands do.

In June, or as early as the seasons will permit, after the first of August, the slip crop, or that portion of the potato crop which is grown from vines of the present growing root crop, is planted in beds. This crop, which can only be planted in wet weather, if planted early, is more productive than the root-crop, but if late, not much more than seed for the ensuing year is made. The root-crop is ploughed and hoed twice, the slip once, and the task is much the same as in cotton—each working being usually accomplished in a day. The corn crop is generally ploughed over four times by the first of July, when cultivation ceases.

In ordinary seasons when the crop can be kept in good condition, the negroes are allowed part of every Saturday, when the men work in their own fields, and the women wash and mend their clothes, &c. Their own crop, which is principally corn, is ploughed over by the plough hands as often as they go over the plantation crop.

If the crop is laid by, that is, if cultivation ceases early, there is an interval of a week or two before the corn blades are fit to be stripped and saved for fodder as a substitute for hay. This is employed by the men and boys, and such of the women as prefer out-work, according to their strength and sex in shrubbing land to be cleared the next winter, or in odd jobs such as building and repairing houses, planting turnips and slips, removing cowpens, &c. while the greater portion of the women are spinning weft, woof, or as it is called filling from wool or cotton, making negro clothes, &c.

In getting fodder, which occupies from ten days to two weeks, the hands work all together, and are not by custom, entitled to tasks, which however they frequently take jointly by the field or week. Their victuals are cooked, and if necessary water is hauled for them. They are allowed to rest two or three hours in the heat of the day. By this time (the 20th of August, or the 1st of September,) a hand can pick from thirty to seventy pounds of cotton. At the commencement of this work, as the people are exposed to the heat of the sun more than they are at any other, it is considered sickly. They do not go out till the dew is dissapated by the sun, and have a recess of two or three hours in the heat of the day. As the weather grows cooler, and the cotton becomes more open, full hands soon pick from eighty to one hundred and twenty pounds. It being injurious to the staple to remain in the field exposed to the dews and rains after it is open, all hands are employed from the 1st of September until a full hand cannot pick more than fifty pounds a day. Each hand is furnished with a basket sufficiently large to contain his day's picking, which he places at some central point of the ground over which he is to pass; he is also furnished with a small bag, made of coarse cloth, which he carries much as a hunter does his shot-bag, or a soldier does his cartouch-box, into which he puts his cotton as picked, transferring it from time to time to his basket. At the close of the day, the baskets with their contents are placed in wagons, hauled to the gin-house, weighed and emptied. There being no prescribed task, the day's work is estimated by the quantity picked by standard hands of each class. This work depends more on dexterity than strength, consequently boys and females are usually the best pickers. Those who pick from eighty to one hundred pounds, can, when they choose, get from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty pounds, which shows the nature of the day's work. As the picking is in progress, eight or ten men, including one or two boys, are employed in ginning, packing, and preparing the crop for market.

The corn is housed generally in damp weather after the first of October, and cow-peas sufficient for seed picked. For a few days, about the first of November, all hands are employed in housing the portion of the potato crop, which is not used out of the field. As the quantity of cotton open in the field decreases, the hands are gradually withdrawn, until but a few of the small, aged, and feeble remain. As they are withdrawn, they are put to other employments, suitable to their strength and sex, such as building, and repairing houses, and chimneys, spinning, weaving, &c.; and gradually fall into the employments of January, and February. At Christmas they are allowed from four days to a week, besides Christmas eve. That is to say, if Christmas falls on Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday, they have till the Monday morning following. Afterwards, the four days, exclusive of Sunday, are made up from the second week. These holydays they devote principally to visiting, or entertaining their friends of neighboring plantations.

I have thus, as briefly as the nature of the subject will admit, given an account of the nature, and amount of work annually performed on a cotton plantation; from which, I think, such of your readers as can rely on my veracity, will come to the conclusion that the slaves of the Southern States, if they labored as free laborers in other countries are compelled to do, they might accomplish the work required of them within two-thirds of the time allotted.

A great majority of planters in the middle country of the Carolinas, and Georgia, reside on, and superintend their own plantations, with the assistance of agents, entrusted with more or less discretion, as the employer is able, or inclined to attend to his business personally. In most cases, these agents do little more than see the orders of their employers executed; and not unfrequently work with, and superintend the plough-hands, while the employer attends to the other hands himself. The labor on such plantations, does not materially differ from that performed on the class to which this communication has particular reference.

There is still another class of slaveholders, and the most numerous in these States, who generally plant only provision crops; though some of them do plant cotton, and largely for their force. They own from one to fifteen or twenty slaves,—usually a man and his wife, and their descendants,—who work with, and in every respect like the white members of the family. The owner, unless advanced in years, and his sons, labor with the slaves, and do the same work. If cotton is cultivated, it is principally with the plough; more land to the hand is planted, and more cotton made. I have a neighbor, who will serve as a fair average sample of this class. He is a widower, and his children are all settled off to themselves, except a daughter who lives with him. He is the owner of two slaves, a man, and a boy able to plough; and, although he is little if any under sixty years of age, he has ploughed row for row with his slaves the present season. On Saturday, at noon, they usually quit work, wash, shave, and shift their clothes, and occasionally they take a holyday. He has generally a negro woman or girl hired, and employed in and about the house. He makes a little of almost everything in the provision line for sale, but no cotton, corn being his principal market crop. His farm is well stocked, and he is what we term "a good liver." His sons are settled on lands adjoining, given them by their father—two own a few slaves, acquired by marriage, and live and manage as their father does—a third owns no slaves, but is preparing to purchase a girl to assist his wife, who is in delicate health. These slaves are not tasked, and do, perhaps, rather more work while engaged at it, than those who are; but they are not so steadily and regularly employed. The great mass of the people belong to this class, which may be said to constitute the bone and sinew of these States.

It remains for me to examine the food, clothing, and lodging, with which slaves are furnished, the discipline to which they are subjected, the nature and degree of the punishments inflicted on them, their habits, religious, moral, and social, the attention bestowed on the young, the sick, and the aged; and such other matters as may be deemed interesting to persons unacquainted with the system.

P.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOV. 6, 1845.

"American Pro-Slavery Clergymen."

In April last, after the departure of the Rev. Drs. Sharp, Codman, and Parkman, for England, an editorial article appeared in the Standard, the intention of which was to state their position with regard to American Slavery, as unequivocally defined by the previous life of each, and to claim of British Abolitionists, such action in the premises as should be dictated by their sense of duty in view of the facts.

The following extracts form the substance of the article in question:

American Pro-Slavery Clergymen.

Three well-known and highly-respected gentlemen, clerical by profession and pro-slavery by character, sailed last week from Boston by the Cambria. They are the Reverend John Codman, D. D. of the Congregational (orthodox) church, the Reverend Daniel Sharp, D. D. of the Baptist, and the Reverend Francis Parkman, D. D. of the Unitarian denomination.

* * * * * *

The public opinion of England has abolished British Slavery, and to that public opinion, American Abolitionists feel, therefore, that they have a right to look for aid in their arduous struggle to purify and rectify their own. For the sake of the cause, and in the name of well nigh three millions of our countrymen in bondage, we adjure our British brethren to bear a faithful testimony for the right in the ears of all American travellers, especially those who have undertaken to be in an especial sense the guardians of morals and religion—American Doctors of Divinity.

Let them be faithful "in doctrine, in reproof, in correction, and instruction in righteousness." Let them not fail, each after the fashion of his own sect, to withdraw its religious sanctions from all Americans who are not laboring with the hearty zeal, which a Christian cannot but feel, for the abolition of a system at war with every doctrine and precept of Christianity.

* * * * * *

We commend them all to the fidelity of British Abolitionists. We have not to reproach ourselves while so doing with having shrunk from a disagreeable office, or evaded a painful obligation. We have been zealously faithful to them ourselves, with all long suffering and diligence, that so we might, if possible, share with them the exceeding great joy of the anti-slavery work.

We therefore feel entitled to remind the British friends of our enterprise that *they* have now a duty to fulfil:—a duty in appeal, admonition, and rebuke, which they cannot neglect without virtually taking sides with the oppressor against the oppressed;—without incurring a responsibility far weightier as the supporters of the system of Slavery, than the slaveholder himself, with all his bloody statutes and guilty practices: for surely it cannot but be seen by all, that the first exist, and the last are permitted, merely because men have ceased to discriminate in their religious teachings and their ecclesiastical intercourse between "the precious and the vile" in morals. The gentlemen in question, are not merely individuals travelling for their own pleasure—they are the virtual—doubtless also the accredited representatives of the American pro-slavery church. To give them the right-hand of church-fellowship will be a crime against humanity and a disgrace to Christianity: it will be treason to Freedom and allegiance to Slavery: it will be heart-cheering to the slaveholder and to his northern supporter; but to the slave, and to the Abolitionist, "in bonds as bound with him," it will be a grievous wrong. May these few words, spoken in none but the most friendly spirit, though with all simplicity and godly sincerity, do somewhat towards preventing its infliction unawares.

In the columns of the Boston Daily Advertiser of last week, extracted from the Boston Christian Register, we find the following communication, headed, "Courtesy and Charity of Abolitionism;" by one of the three pro-slavery clergymen—from internal evidence, the Rev. Dr. Parkman:

COURTESY AND CHARITY OF ABOLITIONISM.

Mr. Editor:—A number of "The London Inquirer," (for August 30, 1845,) has lately been put into my hands, containing a letter from Mr. James Haughton, of Dublin, on Abolitionism, on which, as it contains also some misstatements of a personal nature, I take opportunity to remark.

In a speech before the Irish Unitarian Society, accompanying the letter, Mr. Haughton says:—"I find from the National Anti-Slavery Standard (a New-York paper) of the 17th of April last, that three *pro-slavery clergymen* sailed from Boston the previous week for England They are—the Rev. John Codman, D.D. the Rev. Daniel Sharp, D. D. and the Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D. The last is a Unitarian. I suppose he is now in England, and I hope our friends there will deal honestly with him." "I suppose Dr. Parkman, like Dr. Dewey, will make fair speeches while in England, *and strive to bamboozle our anti-slavery folk*; but let their test be, 'Are you an Abolitionist?' and if he do not answer that question like a candid, honest man, let him be advised to go home, and read his New Testament, and there learn to acknowledge the equal rights of all his brethren," &c. &c.

Of the notice in the New-York Standard, to which this orator refers, neither the Rev. Dr. Codman, or Dr. Sharp knew anything until their return to America; the benevolent intention of the writer, like many other such devices of modern philanthropy, having totally failed in relation to them. And though the friends of freedom in Great Britain had been warned against them, as pro-slavery clergymen and enemies to liberty, yet were they received everywhere with the utmost cordiality and respect: and the warning against the three seemed to be the less called for, inasmuch as neither of them was travelling in any public or official relation,* but simply as private individuals, with objects common to travellers in Europe.

The same courtesy was experienced by the younger and last of these proscribed gentlemen. The only exception, which, however, can scarcely be regarded as one, happened to him, while in Dublin, and just before his embarking for home. He there received a note from this Mr. Haughton himself, of which the following is an extract:—

Then follows an abridgment of Mr. Haughton's note of invitation.

Dr. Parkman having not only charged Mr. Haughton with misstatements, but having also published Mr. Haughton's part of the correspondence, it becomes a duty, for those reasons, if for no others, to lay before the readers of the Standard the whole correspondence. But more especially is it well to do so, as affording an example to Abolitionists, and an admonition to those whose weight is practically cast into the scale of Slavery.

Correspondence between James Haughton, Esq. of Dublin, and the Rev. Dr. Parkman, of Boston.

It is thus introduced by Mr. Haughton, and has been in our possession several weeks; and has not been before published, simply because the article republished in these columns from the London Inquirer seemed to spare the necessity. The case now stands differently.

35 Eccles street, Dublin, August 14, 1845.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard:

Dear Sir:—I do not know whether you will consider the accompanying correspondence worthy of any notice in your paper; but, as it was from it I learned that Dr. Parkman held views akin to pro-slavery, I have thought you might feel some interest in it; I therefore send it you. Dr. Parkman dined with me. We had much plain speaking together, on the subject of Slavery in your land; and, as he disclaimed being a pro-slavery man, I have no wish to fix that epithet on him, but he equally disclaims the title of Abolitionist, so I am forced to put him down as a clergyman unfitted to preach the doctrines of Christianity. In fact, he admitted to me honestly, that he would not preach the necessity of the immediate abolition of Slavery from his pulpit in Boston, because such a course would injure his usefulness as a Christian minister. I appealed to a young Unitarian clergyman whom I had invited to meet Dr. Parkman, if I had ever said anything more severe against the Church, in connection with Slavery, than that. A professing Unitarian Christian minister, acknowledging that he dared not preach abolition of Slavery, or immediate freedom to the captive, in his church in Boston!

I have no unity with such Christianity as this. I am, therefore, unable to accord to Dr. Parkman, or to any other clergyman holding similar opinions, the title of a Christian minister. Dr. Parkman said he was the friend of freedom for *all* men, but his feelings in this way are lukewarm indeed.

Though clouds and shadows hang over the cause of freedom in your land, I hope they will soon be dispelled, and that a bright day will ere long gladden all true hearts in your country.

Believe me, respectfully and sincerely, your friend,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

No. 35, Eccles Street, Dublin, August 8, 1845.

Dear Sir:—I called twice at your hotel, hoping to see you, but you were out. If you be an "Abolitionist," it will afford me the sincerest pleasure to see you at my house, and treat you with hospitable attention. But I have heard from America that you are a pro-slavery man, or that you lend your influence to the oppressor; if this be true, I could not acknowledge you as a Christian minister. I love the free institutions of your country, as much as I detest the system of Slavery, which prevails in some of your States, and the pro-slavery feeling which exists in them all. I think both utterly opposed to Christian principle, and a deep sin in the eyes of God, and all honest men. I hope you will be able to assure me that you are a true lover of liberty, of liberty for the colored, as well as the white man; in that case, I shall be happy to see you at dinner to-morrow, or on Sunday, if you can favor me with your company at 6 o'clock. In which case, be so kind as to drop me a line.

If I did not thus state to you plainly my sentiments on the subject of Slavery, I should be unfaithful to my own convictions of duty. The first question I ask every American who is introduced to me is, "Are you an Abolitionist?" and I regulate my conduct towards him according to his reply. This seems to me the fair and manly course. I am, my dear Sir,

Respectfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

Rev. Dr. Parkman, &c. &c.

Friday Evening, Aug. 8, 1845.

Dear Sir:—I gratefully acknowledge the note you have sent me, and the courtesy and frankness which you have equally shown me.

You have been pleased to make your courtesies dependent *on my answer to a test*. With equal frankness I can reply, that an invitation, however kind, *based on such conditions*, I should feel constrained (simply for the very reason) to decline. But persuaded, as I must be, of the benevolence of your intention, I will accept your kind invitation for to-morrow; (Saturday;) and perhaps you will find, that though not an Abolitionist, in any *technical* or party sense of the word, I am yet, in common with far more distinguished individuals than myself, both of your country and mine own, an hearty lover of the freedom and happiness of *all mankind*.

If, however, this should fail to be satisfactory, and it should seem to you, that one, whose ministry of more than thirty years has been devoted to what, after his best reflexions, has seemed most conclusive to the interests of truth, and to the well-being of *all* his fellow-men, of every condition, is still not to be acknowledged as a Christian teacher—you will be good enough to inform me.

And believe me, dear Sir,

Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

J. Haughton, Esq.

No. 35, Eccles Street, Dublin, August 8, 1845.

Dear Sir:—I should be sorry to reject your explanation, therefore I shall be glad to see you at my house, where we can have conversation of the subject of Slavery in your country, that may perhaps do good to both of us. I would much regret not seeing at my house, a gentleman introduced to me by my friend Henry Colman—my desire is to act honestly up to my convictions towards gentlemen from America, who may be introduced to me.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

Rev. Dr. Parkman.

Saturday Morning, August 9, 1845.

Dear Sir:—As you courteously accept my explanation, I shall have the pleasure of accepting your invitation to dinner, and will be with you at 6 o'clock.

But, possibly, I may owe it to myself, and yet more to the exceeding strictness of your *test*, to explain somewhat further; and to tell you, before becoming your guest, that while in an hearty love of freedom, and in an earnest desire for the welfare and happiness of all mankind, "barbarian and Scythian, bond and free," I yield to no man, not to the Abolitionists themselves; yet I am constrained by deep conviction, to differ *widely* from that party in my views of the measures, which, in America particularly, are best suited to accomplish these most desirable ends.

I am accustomed, as a clergyman, to pray constantly, (I trust sincerely,) for the liberty, virtue, and salvation of the world: and to seek from Him, from whom all wisdom and blessing proceed, guidance as to the choice of measures for the furtherance of these great ends. In common with my instructor and friend, Dr. Channing, and other wise and good men of my country, *I look with deep regret upon some of the measures of the Abolitionists*, as retarding, and not advancing, the cause we equally have at heart. As an humble individual, I concur wholly in the views, upon this subject, of John Quincy Adams, than whom, our country cannot boast at present a wiser statesman, or a truer friend of man; as, also in the sentiments, repeatedly and solemnly uttered, by Dr. Channing himself.

If now, my dear Sir, after all this explanation, you should think it needful to apply your "Test, and Corporation acts," I shall not complain. But I will only correct the impression I had formed, that the Test Acts in Ireland had been all abolished.

I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

James Haughton, Esq.

Dr. Parkman continues, in the Christian Register, thus:—

In the free and friendly conversation, had with this gentleman, some of the reasons were stated, which dissuaded many of the ablest and most enlightened statesmen and philanthropists of our country from joining themselves to the Abolitionists as a party. The views of several distinguished individuals, of whom were John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and Rev. Dr. Channing were mentioned; and some erroneous impressions, which prevailed in England upon the whole subject, were *sought to be* corrected. But Mr. Haughton must have totally misapprehended, since he has so erroneously stated the reasons assigned by his guest for not choosing to be himself a preacher of abolition; which were, as was explicitly told him, not merely the fear of lessening his influence as a minister, [in itself it would seem no very reprehensible motive,] but from the clear conviction that other topics were more needed, and if for no other reason, yet from their local position, more useful to his hearers.

Mr. Haughton in his letter to the Inquirer enclosing a copy of the speech, above referred to, expresses his hope, that "Unitarians in England, who may come in contact with Dr. Parkman will be candid and honest with him on this great question, so that when he goes back to his own country, he may be able to tell his friends, that no Americans will be welcome among us, who are not in favor of *the immediate abolition of Slavery.*"

The writer of this article must confess his utter inability to give any such testimony. If he must advert to so inconsiderable a matter as his own individual experience, he would be compelled to acknowledge, that he was everywhere received with a kindness, quite independent of his opinions on abolition or any other topic; and which, except in the single instance now referred to, was willing to take for granted, *without the application of a test*, that a Christian minister could not be otherwise than opposed to Slavery. In Dublin, especially, the only place, where the warning in "The Standard" was brought to his notice, he had large experience of the far-famed hospitality of Ireland: and should charge himself with ingratitude not to cherish the remembrance of it hereafter among his most agreeable recollections.

If, now, the author, or authors, of the "warning," which was designed to render odious their unsuspecting fellow-countrymen, and by depriving them of the courtesies of life, to perplex their hearts as strangers in a foreign land, should be visited, as might seem natural, with any compunctions of conscience, they may be relieved by the assurance, that whatever of harm they intended, none was suffered;* and we can joyfully say to them, even as did Joseph of old, after his brethren had sold him for a slave to the Ishmaelites. "Now, therefore, be not grieved nor angry with yourselves. As for you, ye thought evil against me, but God meant it for good."

Yours,

ONE OF THE PROSCRIBED MINISTERS.

No persons, if human beings might dare to choose to perform only those duties which are agreeable, would be less likely to deal in personalities than the Abolitionists. But they know, as they have often said, that truth itself is only somewhat told by *persons*, to *persons*, for the benefit of *persons*; and therefore they have never, from the beginning, felt at liberty to do otherwise than draw all the benefit to all parties that might come from making their words instinct with life, by taking them out of the frozen region of abstractions; and on this occasion, they may surely say with Paul, that not only have they "used great plainness of speech," but also, that they have done it "in love and the spirit of meekness."

Dr. Parkman's remarks in consequence of what they have said, show how little he apprehends the principles and the measures, the motives and the intentions of Abolitionists.

It is not in our hearts to unnecessarily wound his feelings, or the feelings of any one. When we endeavor to persuade men to lighten the sufferings of the slaves, by removing their sanction from the oppressors, it is, on the contrary, that we may heal; and we beg the advocates for the longer continuance of Slavery, to remember that "Faithful are the wounds of a *friend*;" and such most truly is the Abolitionist to the abettor of slaveholding, when he reproves him for not following the more excellent way.

We believe that all the world, in common with ourselves, acknowledges the benevolence and urbanity of Dr. Parkman, and the other gentlemen in question, to their fellow-*citizens*; and it is in order to awaken such men to a sense of what they owe, in the exercise of those qualities, towards their enslaved fellow-*countrymen*, that we have stated their failure in Christian duty, and urged the rest of the world to help us to elevate the moral standard of this nation at least to such a pitch that the men composing it shall not give the symbols of their approbation to slaveholders, or to those who, clinging to the same category, deem this elevation of the moral standard a sin, while they regard the great crying iniquity of their own country and times, as something so far off that they have nothing to do with it,—something that a Christian minister has no obligation to demand in the name of Christ, the immediate abolition of, and something, moreover, that it will injure his usefulness as a Christian minister, actively to oppose.

Such men, (and we do not forget their feelings when we say it,) are like the king and court of Taylor's Van-Artevelde.

——"There's some have said
How that King Charles was mighty tender-hearted
The dukes, his uncles, likewise, and that none
Were lothe to shed blood."

* * * *

"There are humane amongst them? how humane?
Humane to lords and ladies—kings and counts—
Humane to such as we? believe it not.
His majesty, to show his cousin kindness,
Would canter over acres of our bodies,
His cousin is in what he calls distress.
To succor the distressed is kind and good,
So with an army comes the good King Charles,
And kindly to his cousin cuts our throats.
And *that* is their humanity! and such
Is man's humanity the wide world through.
Men's hearts you'll find on one side, soft as wax,
But hard as nether millstone on the other."

But it is, in contradistinction, a universal sentiment—a feeling and a principle of the value of man as man, that the Abolitionists are striving to inculcate.

Dr. Parkman has drawn a touching sketch of the wealthy and respected American clergyman, perceiving for the first time, that neither wealth nor profession can secure the high estimation of *some* minds, for those who strike hands with the oppressor. But how is this consciousness of being regarded as one who has been wanting to duty, to be dissipated? By lowering the standard of Christian morality? By making charity a shield for pro-slavery, and a sword in its hand against the slave and the Abolitionist? Surely not. "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them;" "Repent, and do works meet for repentance;" "Go and sin no more;" and then there will be no cause for the disesteem of the advocates of Freedom.

We, too, know something of what Dr. Parkman has so touchingly depicted—the heart of a stranger, perplexed, made odious, and deprived of the courtesies of life, in a strange land; and it is with no wish to be personal and invidious, that we find the original of such a picture in the hunted fugitive from Southern Slavery, in a Boston jail. When Latimer, lying in prison, awaiting his fate as a fugitive slave, requested the prayers of the clergymen of Boston, was Dr. Parkman of the number of those who felt free to pray for him, as it is our New England wont to do for the suffering and afflicted who ask it? Oh, no! for was it not an interference with the functions of the Government so to do? When fugitives are dragged, shrieking,

from the very horns of the altar of Freedom, by New England hands, do the clergymen of Boston feel free to interpose the moral obstacle of a Christian remonstrance? Oh, no!—for are they not violating their constitutional obligations by so doing? And those whom the truth spoken in love, has *made* free, both to labor and to pray in this behalf, what is their guerdon at the hands of such men as Dr. Sharp, Dr. Codman, and Dr. Parkman, whose duty it was to have led *them* in the ways of righteousness? *Them* those gentlemen feel free to condemn as sinners, for their labors and their prayers. *Them* the charity of Drs. Codman, Sharp, and Parkman, can suppose to be actuated by motives of cruelty, and wickedness, when they take the only course by which to mark, past the possibility of mistake, that they have chosen their portion in this life with the slave, and not with the slaveholder.

It may be safely left to the discrimination of even the most casual observer, to say which of the parties looks most like Joseph in bonds, Drs. Parkman, Sharp, and Codman, or the American Abolitionists who rebuke them.

If we did not suppose Dr. Parkman's allusion to tests to be a mere pleasantry, we should remind him of the test established by Christ, in the parables, respecting the constituents of a Christian ministry:—"Inasmuch as ye *did it not* to the *least* of these, my brethren, ye did it not to *me*."

This test surely holds good after all other tests are abolished,—even unto the end of the world.

We have not, Dr. Parkman assures us, done him and his fellow-travellers any injury. Heaven forbid. We meant to do them good. Our rebuke, he affirms, has not been felt by them:—for their own sakes, we are sorry to bear it, since it is but the forerunner, at no distant period, of a world's rebuke, and that we would fain have all men cease to merit. We submit whether we were not bound, in consistency, to "rebuke our neighbor, nor in anywise to suffer sin upon him." Would they not, thinking as we do, have done as we have done? Not thinking as we do—since we are anti-slavery—what is it, but to be pro-slavery? Denying it, as they do, to be a sin in any such sense as to demand zealous and universal opposition, we *must* blame them. We have no choice.

As Unitarians have no communion-table discipline for any sin, Mr. Haughton would, of course, see no propriety in the mode that the members of orthodox sects ought, in a case like this, to adopt: he therefore takes the course which consistency demands from a gentleman towards the ungentlemanly;—from a man towards those who, because they have a nation at their back, are strong to trample down humanity.

May the time soon come, when every metropolitan clergyman shall consider it, as it is, unmanly, ungentlemanly, unchristian, to pass by on the other side, when the question is of making free the slave, whatever may be found or thought to favor such a course in the example of Daniel Webster, J. Q. Adams, or Dr. Channing?

The Rev. William M. Rogers, pastor of the central Church in Winter street, Boston, (Orthodox Congregational,) is about to visit Great Britain.

We pray God for the slave's sake, for the slaveholder's sake, for entire humanity's sake, that the thousands of evangelical remonstrants against American Slavery, from the vale of Leven, who, in 1840, cheered the American Abolitionists, and the American slave, by their united testimony against the sins of Slavery, and the sinfulness of ecclesiastical participation in it, with the whole body of orthodox dissent which, in the case of John L. Brown, gave utterance to a voice that drowned the west wind, startling the heavy ear, and staying the bloody hand of South Carolina,—may *that* great voice of cheer for humanity again rebuke the bloody American Church, in the person of its pro-slavery representative, respected and honored though he be, throughout the United States, by the professors of a slaveholding Christianity.—C.

The Non-Voting Theory.

It would be amusing, were it not painful, to see into what ridiculous inconsistencies men hurry themselves who first make a theory, and then distort facts to its support. If some great mind would explode this method as thoroughly in morals as it is already done in physics, he would deserve a Newton's immortality. But unfortunately, ethics, in our day, is very far from being considered as one of the exact sciences.

It has been held as a favorite axiom, by Liberty party politicians, that "Slavery is the creature of Law." On the truth of this proposition, they have founded the necessity of a political anti-slavery organization. The system being, they said, a legal institution, created and sustained by law, by law alone can it be abolished. Are there not, in all the slave States, slave laws, and is it not by virtue of these that the master exercises his power over his bondman? If we take away these, will not his power cease? They winked out of sight the fact that the real power lay behind the law, in public sentiment, without which the law is a dead letter. But having promulgated the theory, and established it by a mixture of fact and fiction, they next set about choosing, or trying to choose—anti-slavery presidents, and postmasters, Cabinet ministers, and constables, Senators and street-sweepers, and the work of emancipation is done; the choice of an Anti-Slavery hog-reeve, on the shores of Passamaquoddy Bay, will frighten the slaveholder into good behaviour, on the shores of the Sabine river. The great object, then, is to get men to vote right; forgetting that when their moral conversion was accomplished, they would vote right, of course, and that their vote, after all, would not touch the question, in any one of the slave States.

But a great obstacle stood in the way. Leaving, for the present, the question whether Slavery is really the creature of law, we agreed that it was *supported* by the Constitution, and that that support involved the Abolitionists in moral guilt. The question then arose, have we the right,—let the effect of our vote be what it may—to swear allegiance to a pro-slavery instrument, and the pro-slavery Government established under it? Or to take the Liberty party man on his own principles, that "Slavery is the creature of law," has he the right to swear to support that law? Clearly not, if there be any truth in that principle of ethics which forbid us "to do evil that good may come."

Here was a dilemma which was not foreseen, and from which Liberty party must, by some means, escape. The easiest way is, a new theory. Abandoning, in effect, the old one, that "Slavery is the creature of Law," a new champion (Mr. Spooner) comes forward in their behalf, who spins an ingenious and curious web of sophistry, to lead them out of the labyrinth of their present difficulty, by showing them what eggregious blunderers they were to get into it. He would show that Slavery, so far from being created by law, has not, never had, and never can have, a legal existence! There is not, according to his reasoning, a single slave law, in all the statute-books of the Southern States, for that is not law which is immoral; and for the same reason, in the Constitution of the United States, the return of fugitives is not made obligatory in the several States, the three-fifths rule was not meant to apply to the slave population, and the Executive has no right to put down, by force of arms, a servile insurrection. The process of reasoning by which he arrives at this conclusion, is a singular one, and when put in syllogistic form, is this: Whatever is immoral, is illegal; the word slave is not in the Constitution; *therefore*, Slavery is illegal; a conclusion which, has about as much to do with the premise, as the similarity in the famous conundrum of an insane man: "Why is a bricktat like an elephant?" and the answer is, "because neither climb a tree"! Nevertheless, the new theory will do to swear by, and if not less ridiculous, is less glaringly wicked than Mr. Birney's proposition, deliberately to take an oath, with the silent determination to break it the moment he saw fit to do so.

John Mann, of Potter county, Pennsylvania, whose letter appeared in the Standard, October 23d, is entirely behind the age. He still holds to the old theory, that "Slavery is the creature of Law." He has not yet heard, probably, that every true Liberty Party man, from this time henceforward—till a still newer theory is started, and maintained in the same way as the old ones—is expected to declare that Slavery is *not* the creature of Law, but absolutely, and entirely illegal, and unsupported by any Constitution, or law in the land. He must not, however, understand that he is therefore to cease voting the Liberty ticket; he is to do so, and electioneer for that party with more zeal than ever, because the Constitution is Anti-Slavery; but with the express understanding, that the moment the party comes into power, they are to amend that instrument, and do away with all its pro-slavery features. Even Mr. Spooner, who, if not the first discoverer, is the ablest advocate, of this singularly logical theory, expresses his doubts whether the general adoption of the doctrine, that *all* the Constitutions are already Anti-Slavery, would permit the existence of many of them much longer. Many of our readers, probably, will recollect in this connection, the story told by some of our agents, in illustration of pro-slavery reasoning, of some people who wished to build a new jail. They first resolved, "they would have a new jail;" next, "that the new jail should be built out of the materials of the old one;" thirdly, "that the prisoners should be kept in the old jail till the new one was finished;" and fourthly, "the new jail should be built on the precise spot which the old jail now occupies."

But very little need be said to expose the fallacies—perhaps a more proper term is blunders—of the correspondent of our Chester county friend. He first shows what is to be done to abolish Slavery. It is the conversion of the people, by setting the "moral power to work," and "correcting public sentiment." "Till this be done," he says, "voting, and making laws, will be of little avail." So then, it is after all, the law which is the creature of public sentiment, and not public sentiment, (Slavery,) as he asserts in the next breath, "the creature of Law." We may safely leave this argument to take care of itself.

But he goes on to show that Slavery will, nevertheless exist till the pro-slavery law is repealed. It would be a singular fact in the history of this Government, if any law should still continue in force, though it might remain on the Statute-book, after the religious, and moral sentiment of the people had condemned it as wrong. There is always a remedy in such a case, which the people are not slow in applying. It is difficult to compel obedience to a law which even a respectable minority oppose, and impossible, when a majority refuse obedience. Slavery was virtually abolished in Massachusetts, before it was declared, by a judicial decision in an isolated case, that it had no legal existence, because the sentiment of the people was opposed to it. It still exists, in a modified form, in New Jersey, because the people are in favor of it, and by judicial decision, notwithstanding the Constitution of that State is almost precisely the same, word for word, as that of Massachusetts, under which it was held by Chief Justice Parsons, the system could not exist.

The mistake of our friend is in entirely misunderstanding the "non-voting theory." In refusing to vote, and to take oath under a pro-slavery Constitution, we do not refuse to vote always. On the contrary, many of those, and some of them, the leading minds among us, take this position, not only because its opposite is wrong in itself, but because they wish to establish a new Government upon a just and firm foundation. They are ready to act under an Anti-Slavery Constitution, and in a union with freemen. They aim at this as an ultimate purpose, at the same time that they free themselves from guilt by participation in a pro-slavery Government, and hope to effect the abolition of Slavery, by withdrawing from it all political support. Long before "two-thirds" of the people become thoroughly Anti-Slavery, the Union will be dissolved, and a new Government created, unless the fear of such an event, and the onward march of moral revolution, should before that time abolish Slavery, and thus render the formation of a new Government, and the dissolution of the Union, with its present geographical limits, unnecessary. Our friend can hardly fail to perceive, that if he has no other reason for voting with the Liberty party than the fear, that when the Abolitionists are in the ascendency, there will be nobody to vote for Anti-Slavery laws, that that reason is a very futile one. The men who have refused all union with slaveholders, will not be likely to submit to their domination any longer than they are obliged to. They will not indeed have to vote for Anti-Slavery laws, for in the Government which they would establish there would be no Slavery to make laws for. They have begun already—by making their whole life a protest against pro-slavery law,—where Liberty party expects to begin when it shall come into power. When Liberty party shall have gained the ascendency it will have but just commenced the struggle, which the disunionists have already ended the moment they are in the majority.

On the question as to the character of the Constitution of the United States, I will enter into no argument now, as Mr. Mann simply asserts his own opinion in relation to it. As to the "great error of W. L. Garrison and his disciples," Mr. Mann greatly mistakes in supposing any such exists. Mr. Garrison and his friends are perfectly aware of the distinction between the Constitution and the acts of the Government. They believe the Constitution in itself to be essentially pro-slavery, and that certain pro-slavery acts of the Government, have been strictly in accordance with that character of the Constitution. I will admit his illustration showing a similarity between the conclusions drawn from the Bible, and those drawn from the Constitution, to be a good one, when he will point me to any authority appointed by the Bible itself from which there is no more appeal than there is on the other hand from the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States under the Constitution.—G.

"Foreign Emissaries."

It is our turn now, if we choose to avail ourselves of it, to echo the cry of "foreign interference." It is one thing for any class of people in Great Britain to use all their moral influence, on the broad ground of human brotherhood, against the iniquitous system of American Slavery—the great crime of the nineteenth century; but quite another thing for any sect in that country to send delegates among us with the express purpose of putting down the Anti-Slavery movement, on the plea that that is of less consequence than the integrity of a pro-slavery Quaker Church. This is "foreign interference," which we have a right to brand as impudent and wicked, and more especially when this deadly thrust at our holy cause is made with the hypocritical pretence of an all-absorbing love for the slave.

By referring to the documents on our first page, emanating from that small but faithful band of Christian men and women, the Anti-Slavery Friends of Indiana, it will be seen that the delegates of the London Yearly Meeting, have enlisted themselves on the side of the oppressor, and are exercising their influence against the weak, and in favor of the strong. The Anti-Slavery Friends of Indiana have endured persecution and obloquy, but faithful to the principles of righteousness, and the testimonies of the early Friends, which the "Body" have neglected, and in reality, despised, they resisted the encroachments of spiritual despotism, and obeyed the injunction, "Come out of her, my people." For this they cannot be forgiven; for this, if possible, they must be suppressed. It will not do to tolerate this spirit of insubordination for the truth's sake; it would no more do to permit the order of society, and of the spiritual drill, to be violated among these pro-slavery Quakers, than it would for a military captain to allow the privates to disobey military tactics, or the orderly sergeant's book. So these "emissaries" from England, are mousing about in country neighborhoods, in Indiana, striving to do that by cunning stratagem which they dare not attempt to do face to face with those whom they are attempting to undermine. They must put down this anti-slavery *emeute* in Quakerdom, at all hazards, and square the consciences of Indiana Abolionists by the rule of the London Yearly Meeting, and the Broad street Committee.

It may be, however, that they will yet have to retreat in confusion. The Committee whose report we publish, has stripped off the sheep's clothing of these wolves in good season, and they will go back, unless I much mistake the spirit of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Friends, persuaded that the Abolitionists of America recognize a higher discipline than that of Yearly Meetings, and submit to the dictation of no committees, and least of all to such a one as that of Broad Street, London. Few, I presume, will be surprised at the course this delegation has seen fit to pursue, but the fact is a note-worthy one as another index to the character of the sort of anti-slavery which belongs to the society represented by the Broad Street Committee, and with which the new organizationists in this country are in loving fellowship.

Captain Small.

In to-day's paper are the acknowledgments of all the money yet received to remunerate Captain Small for Walker's ransom. I make another appeal in this behalf. It is not necessary to repeat the circumstances. Nobody can have forgotten them. More than one hundred dollars is yet wanting to complete the sum.

Captain Walker is now laboring for the cause in Massachusetts, and doing good service. It cannot be that the people can look upon that scarred hand of his, and not be moved—at least some out of the many thousands—to feeling and to action. But he would perhaps have been even to this time, chained in the prison at Pensacola, and the good he is doing left undone, but for the generous conduct of his friend, Captain Small. Will Abolitionists leave this man to bear the burden alone?

I know it is hard to pay money twice over. But Captain Small, who voluntarily stepped forward to repair the error of others, should not be compelled to suffer alone the penalty of that error.

By the by, when will the Emancipator give us the report of the Walker Committee? As the editor of that paper would not believe the testimony of Captain Walker, it is to be presumed that he, as a member of the Committee, has taken other means to ascertain why Mr. Blount pocketed the money, without rendering any services in return. It won't do to slur it over so, Sir. The Anti-Slavery public have a right to expect some sort of an explanation, either in acknowledgment of your error, or in good reasons for your defence of it.—G.

Meeting of the Manhattan Society.

In accordance with the notice given in last week's paper, a meeting was held in the hall at the corner of Lispenard street, on Wednesday evening last. Though smaller in numbers than we should have liked to see it, it was twice the size of that held a fortnight before. The resolutions on Disunion were taken up for discussion, and an animated debate ensued, in which Messrs. Powell, Palmer, Cromwell, and Gay participated. The last mentioned speaker alone advocated the non-voting theory, and the necessity of disunion or abolition. Messrs. Palmer, and Cromwell, both opposed these views, being both Liberty party men. Mr. Powell objected to the views and action of both parties of Abolitionists, and charged upon all alike, as having deserted the cause of the slave and the free-colored man. The debate was conducted in the best spirit on all sides; but we have no room for a more extended notice. Another meeting will be held in the same place, on Wednesday evening next, when I trust, a still larger audience will be present. As our existence, and purposes become more generally known, the meetings will become larger and more interesting, and in the meantime, it behoves all Abolitionists to do all in their power, to ensure the success of our experiment on the apathy and prejudice of the New-York people.

☞ If any one wishes to understand the obstacles in national character which have made, and must continue to make, the advance of the Anti-Slavery cause comparatively slow, let him read the strophies, which Gustave de Beaumont has put into the mouth of Ludovic.—[Translated on the 4th page.]

It is only as the noble idea of freedom wrestles and prevails with the spirit of traffic, and money-making,—only as spirit gains the ascendency over matter, feeling and conscience over selfishness, that our cause can gain a step. This will explain the reasons for the course of Abolitionists in appealing, primarily and principally, to the Church, as founded in the soul; for the State yields of course when the Church, or moral principle is aroused. We cannot appeal with much effect to the heroic, or the holy in men's souls, through the medium of any history but that of the Church; for the simple reason that the generation we deal with, know but little of any except Biblical and ecclesiastical literature.

But the warmth with which audiences, who listen coldly to the *souvenirs* of Rome, and Greece, will respond to the literature of the Hebrews, which alone comes to their souls as a reality, is a proof that the soul of the nation is not *quite* dead, while it is at the same time an instruction to Abolitionists to continue, as they have begun, to appeal to feeling, duty, conscience, in the only language in which such appeals are best understood;—that of praise and blame—the language of *spirit*; and not that of excuse and palliation—the language of material philosophy.—C.

☞ Will some subscriber to the Standard, who has a spare copy of the sixth number of the present volume, oblige us by forwarding it to this office? It is wanted by a friend, who has the Standard and Liberator from the beginning, to complete his set.

ANTI-CAPITAL PUNISHMENT CONVENTION.—In another column will be found the advertisement of this important meeting, to be held in Philadelphia, on Wednesday, the 12th inst. The delegation no doubt will be a large one, and a powerful influence be given to this important cause.

MURDER AND ARSON.—A shocking murder was committed last week in Boston, on a Mrs. Bickford. A man, supposed to be the murderer, A. J. Tirrell, was arrested in Philadelphia, on Sunday last.

☞ Tuesday of this week was election day in this State. We go to press too early to give the result anywhere except in this city, where the Democrats have carried the day. I intended to have given some interesting items of the action of all parties in their nominating meetings, but have no room for them.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry*: Walter Von der Vogelweide. Song of the Spirit of Poetry. Tears. *Miscellany*: Marie; or, Slavery in the United States (*continued*). Abolition of Capital Punishment (*concluded*). A Visit to the Blind Sculptor of the Tyrol. A Quaint Sermon. "He was locked up."

FIRST PAGE.—*Pro-Slavery*: Negro Conventions and Political Abolitionists. *Selections*: Epistle of Advice and Statement of facts, &c. The Annexation of Texas. The Unconstitutionality of Slavery. Anti-Slavery as much as Anybody.

SECOND PAGE.—Disgraceful. Letter from Cassius M. Clay. Abolitionism in Louisville. *Communications*: Letter from South Carolina.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Later from Europe.

The steamship Great Western arrived here on Wednesday last, bringing dates six days later only, than had been previously received. There is very little news by her of any interest. The accounts of the failure of the crops of all kinds, are confirmed. The prices of bread stuffs in England had somewhat receded, in consequence of heavy importations.

There has been another insurrection in Italy, in which some lives were lost.

The Russians and Circassians had fought another battle, in which the former had, as usual, gained no advantage.

At the last Repeal Meeting in Dublin, Mr. John O'Connell presided, in the absence of his father. The following extract is from a foreign paper:

Mr. O'Connell was taken to task by a person sitting in the body of the Hall, who told the honorable and learned gentleman that he was better acquainted with the States than he (Mr. O'Connell,) could be. He said the object of annexing Texas was not for the purpose of promoting Slavery, but to prevent England from ever having the power of making a successful attack upon American independence. The rent was announced at £232 6s. 4d.

Mr. O'Connell, speaking upon the Oregon question, at Kerry, recently, said, "While America has the canker-worm of negro slavery working at her heart's core—while a remnant of slavery exists in America, she never can be strong, or prospering in war, or able to hold her own against a hostile nation. There is within her the plague-spot of Slavery, and God forbid that any country should ever be permanently powerful that is tainted with that infernal system."

General Items.

At the late election in Ashtabula county, Ohio, there were a number of *repeal tickets* put into the ballot boxes in a number of townships. In one of the northern townships the following ticket was polled:—

ANTI-SLAVERY TICKET!
No union with slaveholders.
Representative—John Liberator.
Treasurer—Thomas Just.
Commissioner—Edmund Equity.
Coroner—Daniel Right.
Poor House Director—Seth Pity-the-poor.

Eternal infamy be the portion of every abettor of Slavery in Church or State. AMEN.

Victoire, the slave of Mr. Theodore Yard, was yesterday sentenced to one hour in the pillory, and to receive twenty-five lashes, being found guilty of larceny. Quite a crowd was drawn to view her, while undergoing the former part of the sentence, she being placed on the railing of the Place d'Armes, decorated with a large paper head dress, bearing the word "Voleuse," while a placard was placed on the front of her dress, stating her name and crime.—*N. O. Tropic, Oct.* 22.

The New Jersey Slaves.—We noticed lately, the abduction of the wife of Jefferson Jackson, and her three children. The Camden Mail says that they have recovered one, and adds:—"One a boy ten years old, has been brought back, with money advanced by an individual; and efforts are making, which will lead to the discovery of the poor woman, and the other two children. Ninety dollars was paid for the boy, and a considerable sum additional will be needed to redeem the mother and other children. An appeal is made to the benevolent in their behalf."

Another Strike.—The seamstresses of Newburgh have turned out, struck for higher pay, and have published a manifesto in the papers stating their grievances, and appending a list of prices by which they will in future be governed. The Pittsburgh spirit, it will be seen, is extending.

Thanksgiving.—This festival of the Pilgrims will be observed as follows:

Pennsylvania,	Nov. 27.	Massachusetts,	Nov. 27.
Kentucky,	" 20.	Charleston, S. C.	" 6.
Connecticut,	" 27.	New Hampshire,	" 27.
Vermont,	Dec. 4.	Ohio,	" 20.
Maine,	" 4.	Maryland,	" 21.

What's in the Wind?—The subjoined paragraph, taken from the Washington Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce, discloses a fact of some interest, not to "the slaveholding portion of the United States" only, but to all the freemen who compose the population of our country. We do not doubt the authenticity of this information: and, if the writer has any farther or more particular information on this subject, we invite him to reveal it.

"WASHINGTON, October 20, 1845.

Mr. Calhoun, towards the close of the late Administration, dispatched an agent to the island of St. Domingo, for what particular object it was not known. He was paid out of the secret service fund. This agent (Mr. Hogan) has returned, and made a voluminous, and, as I understand, an interesting report, which will, probably, at some time, see the light. It is conjectured that it relates chiefly to the condition of the Spanish portion of the island, and the situation and prospects of the Dominicans; their war with the Haitiens; the policy of the English and French Governments in regard to them, and to the slaveholding portion of the West India Islands generally, &c. It has been supposed that the British Government, and perhaps the Government of France also, will take such a course as will aid the entire abolition of slavery in this island, and, indeed, in all the Spanish and French Islands. The subject is one of some interest to the slaveholding portion of the United States."

Committed.—A negro man by the name of *Charles*, was yesterday committed to jail by the request of his master, from whom he had run away over two years ago. According to the negro's statement, he has lived in Canada and Michigan nearly all the time he was absent, and says he was induced to leave his master through the persuasions, and by the assistance of white Abolitionists; he himself being a pretty smart fellow, was employed on two occasions by them to return to this State, and assist in running off slaves. The first trip was rather an unprofitable one, as he was only successful in carrying off two; in the second, better fortune prevailed, and several were taken over the river. Having his own freedom, and finding negro stealing not a very lucrative business, he declined a third trip, finally settled in Michigan, and after being there for twelve or eighteen months, concluded once more to visit this section, for what purpose he does not say. His master getting wind of it, laid a plan to catch him, which proved successful. We have no doubt but what he could tell an interesting story, and one by which the holders of slaves in this vicinity would profit by, if he should be so inclined.—*St. Louis New Era.*

CASSIUS M. CLAY'S second number of the revived "True American," has the following paragraphs:

"Our printing office was moved one day, in our absence, to Cincinnati, by some of our friends. It puts us to some inconvenience, but we are good-natured, and used to ill-usage: we *don't* say much about it—*they can't!*"

"*Powder!*—The slaveholders of the 18th, admit that there is pressing danger from our slaves—fire—lust—and murder. Yes, Slavery is a "powder-house," say they, which a madman may blow up! Say you so, my respectable masters? Then, by all the instincts of self-preservation, we demand of you to remove this powder-house from among us. What right have you, the 31,000, to keep "powder" in your houses, which may blow up the 600,000 free whites of our unhappy State? In the name of our wives, our children, our daughters, and sons, our friends and relations, our homes, and our country—we demand that this "*nuisance*" be removed, as utterly intolerable and dangerous to our peace and safety.

Slavery in Oregon.—P. H. Burnett, Esq. a citizen of Oregon, in a letter which we see in the last Platte (Mo.) Argus, says:—*Tribune.*

"The Legislature have passed an act, declaring that Slavery shall not exist in Oregon; and the owners of slaves, who bring them here, are allowed two years to take them out of the country, and, in default, the slaves to be free. The act also prohibits free negroes, or mulattoes, from settling or remaining in this country, and requires them to leave in two years, and, in default, to be hired out to the lowest bidder, who will bind himself to remove them from the country for the shortest term of service, and within six months after the expiration hereof. The object is to keep clear of this most troublesome class of population."

India Rubber Paper is recommended as the most suitable for the printing of the law, that it may be stretched occasionally, for the accommodation of rich culprits.—*Plain Dealer.*

It is also "recommended" as a good casing for the consciences of those temperance men who patronize and apologize for "*respectful* and gentlemanly" grog-sellers.—*Cleveland Herald.*

It is also a capital thing upon which to print the United States Constitution for the use of Liberty party. The material is warranted to stretch as much as "private construction," or "mental reservation" will require.—*Anti-Slavery Bugle.*

Kentucky.—The citizens of Mason County, Ky., have recently held a public meeting to decide upon the conduct of the people of Lexington, towards Cassius M. Clay, of the True American. The large majority of the meeting, it is said, declared themselves to be in favor of gradual emancipation, upon principles and plans of Colonization.

Obituary.

ANN TUCKER, the subject of this brief memorial passed from death unto life, on the morning of the 15th of 7th mo. 1845, in the 73d year of her age. Full of years and rich in grace, she closed in peace an active and a useful life. As a sheaf ripe for the harvest, she is gathered home to her Heavenly Father, and is crowned with a wreath of unfading glory.

Attached to the religious Society of Friends, of which she was always a valuable and efficient member through faithful obedience to the divine word, revealed in the secret of her heart, her views of Christian duty were in agreement with its ancient testimonies and with the precious precepts of the blessed Master, and as this was the rising principle of her life, she was led to acts of pure and practical benificence.

Possessing in an eminent degree that purity of heart which leads the wise and the good of every age to bear a faithful testimony against wrong and oppression of every kind, her sympathies were awakened for the improvement of the Indian and Africo-American race, and the peculiar sufferings of these were to her gentle spirit a source of deep solicitude and sorrow. The state of her own religious society, clearly evinced to her inquiring mind that there was much within its bounds that required the exercise of its salutary discipline; and there she sought, and there she found, an ample field of Christian labor.

The interest which she felt for the promotion of piety and of virtue in the young or the sincere inquirer, though lively and unobtrusive, was deep and enduring.

Her ardent devotion to the cause of education, induced her to dedicate the morning and the noon of life to the important subject. The rapid improvement and unabated attachment of her pupils, indicate her aptitude for that pursuit—her reward was peace and competence.

Those who have known her maternal care from early infancy to mature age, do feel indeed that a "mother has fallen in Israel;"—and those who have experienced at seasons of trial and affliction her Christian counsel and or soothing aid, are consoled with the sacred promise, that "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."—*Germantown Telegraph.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from October 1, to November 1, 1845.

M M Chamberlain, Great Falls, N H		$1 00
Horatio Seymour, Utica, N Y		6 00
B Bigelow, Westminster, Mass		2 00
David Wilson, Farmington, N Y		4 00
Lorenzo Hathaway, " "		1 00
E J Doty, Macedon, " "		4 00
Western Hotel, Deerfield, O		1 00
John Wright Pittsburgh Pa		5 00
John O Lovett, Hingham, Mass		2 00
Eliza A Thaxter, "		2 00
Rhoda Beal, "		2 00
Sarah D Fiske, "		2 00
David H Abbott, "		2 00
Mary T. Tidmarsh, "		2 00
Eliza Hersey, "		2 00
Elizabeth Cushing, "		2 00
Adeline Whiton, "		2 00
		42 00
Donations.		
Abner Sanger, Danvers, Mass		50 00
D S Grandin, Brunswick, Me (pledge)		5 00
Daniel Ricketson, New Bedford, Mass		20 00
		75.00
Total amount,		$117.00

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.
(Remainder next week.)

Acknowledgments received in behalf of Capt. Walker.

Benjamin Guild, Aurora, N Y.		2 00
A Friend, "		2 00
E Burnham, "		2 00
J Hussey, "		1 00
M Hazlett, "		1 00
M Hutchinson, King's Ferry, N Y		2 00
Slocum Howland, Sherwood's corners, N Y		2 00
J Talcott, " "		1 00
S Marriott, " "		1 00
L Searing, " "		1 00
J Searing, Poplar Ridge, "		1 00
R Scuttleback, " "		1 00
W D Tripp, Scipioville, "		1 00
C Gifford, " "		1 00
G Slocum, Scipio, "		1 00
Amount previously acknowledged,		7 00
		27 00

NOTICES.

NOTICE.

An adjourned meeting of the Manhattan Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the Hall, corner of Lispenard and Broadway, on Wednesday evening, next, the 12th instant, at half-past seven o'clock, precisely.

H. M. HENRY, Secretary.

NORFOLK COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society will hold its next quarterly meeting at Dorchester, in the Lyceum Hall, on Thursday, Nov. 13th, beginning at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through the day and evening. Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Quincy, and other abolitionists will attend and address the meeting. It is earnestly hoped that there will be a full and punctual attendance of members of the Society, and friends of the cause, from all parts of the county.

ANNE WARREN WESTON, *Rec. Sec.*

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A stated meeting of the Society, will be held on 5th day (Thursday) afternoon, the 13th instant, at four o'clock, P. M. at Sarah Douglass' School-room.

SARAH A. M'KIM, Secretary.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

A series of Lectures will be delivered before the *Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society*, upon successive Sunday evenings, at Mechanic Hall, at 6 1-2 o'clock.

The Introductory Lecture will be given by
JOHN W. BROWN, of Boston,
on Sunday evening, Oct. 19th.

The remainder of the course to be delivered by the following gentlemen, viz:

JEREMIAH B. SANDERSON, of Lynn;
WM. H. CHANNING, of New-York;
CHARLES STETSON, of Medford;
THEODORE PARKER, of West Roxbury, (*Monday eve,*) *Nov. 17th.*
JOHN T. SARGENT, of Boston;
CHARLES L. REMOND, of Salem.

A collection, to defray the expenses of the Hall will be taken.

All persons are respectfully invited to attend.

ELIZA J. KENNY, *Rec. Sec'y.*

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Are you ready, dear friends, to commence with us preparations for the Pennsylvania Fair of 1845? Warm hearts and active hands we would enlist, at this early period, that no time may be lost which might be profitably spent in this service. Information respecting what is to be done, it can scarcely be necessary to offer to those who, year by year, have been laboring side by side with us in this department of Anti-Slavery toil, and whose skill and ingenuity have been again and again proved. We want whatever liberal souls will devise, and ready hands execute. The Committee commence their efforts this year with the hope of making the Fair superior to those of preceding years, but this hope cannot, of course, be realized, without your diligent and hearty co-operation. On this we rely. Need we urge upon you motives to action? The slave has found no respite from his sufferings shall we seek respite from our labors in his behalf? Trusting that you are as ready for this work as ourselves, we suggest that you should immediately begin to inquire what you can give or do for this purpose, and how you can best enlist the services of your friends and neighbors. Will some active friends of the cause take measures for forming sewing circles in their neighborhoods, where articles may be manufactured, donations deposited, and interest excited for the Fair? From such a measure, much benefit, beside pecuniary emolument, results to the Anti-Slavery cause. Will not the friends of the cause in Chester, Bucks, and other counties, adopt this plan, and furnish tables, to be superintended by themselves at the Fair? And will not those who cannot conveniently unite with these circles, be diligent and faithful in individual effort? Of all the friends of the slave in city and country, we ask aid. Of the merchant, we ask contributions of merchandise, of the mechanic, the fruit of his handiwork; of the farmer, the produce of his garden, fields, and poultry-yard. But we ask of all *only* the products of *free* and *requited* labor.

Let us, dear friends, commence our efforts with a determination that our next Fair shall yield great and good results to our cause, and *it will do so.*

Contributions may be sent to any member of the Committee, or to J. M. McKim, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Emma Parker,	*Anna M. Hopper,*
Mary Grew,	*Maria M. Davis,*
Sarah M. McKim,	*Sarah Pugh,*
Hester Reckless,	*Martha Carman,*
Gertrude K. Burleigh,	*Sarah M. Douglass,*
Elizabeth J. Neall,	*Margaret Jones,*
Olive Bacon,	*Emily A. Winslow,*
Hannah L. Stickney,	*Margaret Griscom,*
Mary T. Stickney,	*Teresa K. Hallowell,*
Sarah Child,	*Eliza J. Bias.*

THE TWELFTH MASSACHUSETTS

Anti-Slavery Fair,

TO BE HELD IN

FANEUIL HALL,

AT THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR.

The undersigned, deeply sensible of the obligations of those who begin a work of beneficent reform to carry it forward to the end of their lives, have determined to continue, during the present, as in the eleven preceding years, to disseminate the moral principles, and awaken the feelings which alone can effect the abolition of Slavery.

If we needed fresh stimulus in a work, which perpetually renews the devoted spirit, we could not fail to find it in the present condition of our country. The supporters of Slavery, perceiving that the practice and the preaching of a higher morality, endangers the perpetuity of their system, hope by the annexation of Texas to maintain the balance of power in its favor. But Freedom can gain at the North faster than Slavery at the South, if those who call themselves friends of Freedom, will but labor with zeal and diligence in her behalf.

Our appeal is, in an especial manner, to those who are newly awakened to the nature of Slavery, and its unavoidable termination in political subjugation, and national ruin:—and, who earnestly desire to avoid the fatal consequences of the atrocious deed of Texan Annexation. If the people were awake to the importance of this question of Annexation to the welfare, to the honor, to the very existence of the UNITED STATES, *as such*, they would speak with one voice from every city, county and town throughout the free States, in that decisive tone which would settle the question in the negative at once and forever:—which would sunder any such connection already formed, as threads are parted by flame.

It is to awaken—to inform—to inspire the American people with a sense of what they owe their times, their race, and themselves, that we propose this effort, to be carried on through the year, and to be concluded in December next, with THE TWELFTH MASSACHUSETTS A. S. FAIR. Wherever, the country over, there is a single person professing an interest in the cause, whose eye this shall meet, let that person instantly commence operations for THE FAIR, and interest as many others as possible for its success.

We have the pleasure of announcing to those who have aided us the last year, that but little remains on hand of the contributions of the last Fair. The whole will have been converted into money before the next, and employed in supplying lecturers and publications. Let no one shrink from the duty of aiding us, because he does not deem the Anti-Slavery lecturers and publications the best possible:—our object is to arouse those whose office it *should* have been to bear the truth to us: those whom all confess to be, by their prudence, mildness, judiciousness, and position, rightly qualified for the work we have undertaken, if they could but be induced to undertake it. From among these, we fervently hope, will arise, such as shall put to shame all former advocates, by their devotedness, their zeal, their diligence, and their disinterestedness.

We request for the cause's sake, the immediate formation of Anti-Slavery working clubs, for the aid of THE FAIR. Men can do as much for it as women, by furnishing the requisite funds; by making articles for it, as time permits,—the best specimens of their mechanical ingenuity, and manufacturing skill,—by sending the fruits of their agricultural industry. We ask not for the formation of sewing-circles *only*, but for working-clubs of every description. They may be made the medium of a happier social intercourse than commonly prevails. They may be reading societies and working societies, while their object is the promotion of the Anti-Slavery cause.

We ask of all our friends, and the friends of the cause, and the opposers of Texan Annexation throughout the country, to take the action above indicated. We ask of all such in this city, donations of money or materials, or orders for such articles as they prefer to purchase at the Fair.

Of the opposers of Annexation, we feel that we have a double *right* to ask aid: for have not *our* efforts aroused them to a sense of the danger and the wrong, and are not *their* efforts consequently due to awaken those who yet slumber over it? It is not more imminent now, than during all these years between 1835 and 1845, which they have slept away, while we watched and worked. Requite, now, to others, the good for which we should scorn the thought of a return to ourselves. We desire only to give the advantage of our personal exertions and experience in making this requital as extensively beneficial as economy and knowledge of the

Poetry.

WALTER VON DER VOGELWEIDE.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

[Walter von der Vogelweide, or Bird-Meadow, was one of the principal Minnesingers of the thirteenth century. He triumphed over Heinrich von Ofterdingin in that poetic contest at the Wartburg Castle known in literary history as the "War of Wartburg."]

Vogelweide, the Minnesinger,
When he left this world of ours,
Laid his body in the cloister,
Under Wurtzburg-Minster towers.

And he gave the monks his treasures,
Gave them all with his behest:
They should feed the birds at noontide
Daily, on his place of rest.

Saying—"From these wandering minstrels
I have learned the art of song;
Let me now repay the lessons
They have taught so well and long."

Thus the bard of love departed—
And, fulfilling his desire,
On his tomb the birds were feasted
By the children of the choir.

Day by day, o'er tower and turret,
In foul weather and in fair—
Day by day, in vaster numbers,
Flocked the poets of the air.

On the tree, whose heavy branches
Overshadowed all the place—
On the pavement—on the tombstone—
On the poet's sculptured face—

On the cross-bars of each window,
On the lintel of each door—
They renewed the War of Wartburg,
Which the bard had fought before.

There they sang their merry carols,
Sang their lauds on every side;
And the name their voices uttered,
Was the name of Vogelweide.

Till at length the portly abbot
Murmured, "Why this waste of food?
Be it changed to loaves henceforward
For our fasting brotherhood."

Then in vain, o'er tower and turret,
From the walls and woodland nests,
When the Minster bells rang noon-tide,
Gathered the unwelcome guests.

Then in vain, with cries discordant,
Clamorous round the Gothic spire,
Screamed the feathered Minnesingers
For the children of the choir!

Time has long effaced the inscriptions
On the cloister's funeral stones;
And tradition only tells us
Where repose the poet's bones.

But around the vast Cathedral,
By sweet echoes multiplied,
Still the birds repeat the legend,
And the name of Vogelweide.

"SONG OF THE SPIRIT OF POVERTY.

BY ELIZA COOK.

A song, a song, for the Beldame Queen,
A Queen that the world knows well,
Whose portal of state is the workhouse gate,
And throne the prison cell.

I have been crowned in every land
With nightshade steeped in tears,
[illegible]
Which the proudest mortal fears.

No gem I wear in my tangled hair,
No golden vest I own,
No radiant glow tints cheek or brow—
Yet say, who dares my frown?

Oh, I am Queen of a ghastly court;
And tyrant sway I hold,
Eating human hearts for my royal sport,
With the bloodhounds of Hunger and Cold.

My power can change the purest clay
From its first and beautiful mould,
Till it hideth away from the face of day,
Too hideous to behold.

Oh, I am Queen of a ghastly court!
And the handmaids that I keep
Are such phantom things as fever brings
To haunt the fitful sleep.

See, see, they come in my haggard train,
With jagged and matted locks
Hanging round them as rough as the wild steed's mane,
Or the black weed on the rocks.

They come with broad and horny palms,
They come in maniac guise,
With angled chins, and yellow skins,
And hollow, starting eyes.

They come to be girded with leather and link,
And away at my bidding they go,
To toil where the soullest beast would shrink,
In the deep damp caverns below.

Daughters of beauty, they, like ye,
Are of gentle womankind,
And wonder not if little there be
Of angel form and mind.

If I'd held your cheeks by as close a pinch,
Would that flourishing rose be found?
If I'd doled you a crust out, inch by inch,
Would your arms have been so round?

Oh, I am Queen, with a despot rule,
That crushes to the dust!
The laws I deal bear no appeal,
Though ruthless and unjust.

I deaden the bosom, and darken the brain
With the might of the demon's skill;
The heart may struggle, but struggle in vain,
As I grapple it harder still.

Oh, come with me, and ye shall see
How well I begin the day,
For I'll hie to the hungriest slave I have,
And snatch his loaf away!

Oh, come with me, and ye shall see
How my skeleton victims fall;
How I order the graves without a stone,
And the coffins without a pall.

Then a song, a song for the Beldame Queen—
A Queen that ye fear right well.
For my portal of state is the workhouse gate,
And my throne the prison-cell!

TEARS.

Thank God, bless God, all ye who suffer not
More grief than ye can weep for. That is well—
That is light grieving! lighter, none befel,
Since Adam forfeited the primal lot.
Tears! what are tears? The babe weeps in its cot,
The mother singing at her marriage-bell,
The bride weeps: and before the oracle
Of high-faned hills, the poet hath forgot
That moisture on his cheeks. Commend the grace,
Mourners, who weep! Albeit, as some have done,
Ye grope, tear-blinded, in a desert place,
And touch but tombs,—look up! Those tears will run
Soon in long rivers, down the lifted face,
And leave the vision clear for stars and sun.

E. B. Barrett.

Miscellany.

MARIE;
OR
Slavery in the United States.

BY GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT.

Author of Travels in Ireland; and, in conjunction with de Tocqueville, of "Penitentiary System of the United States."

(Translated for the Standard.)

CHAPTER XII.

The Trial—Literature and the Fine Arts.

At length, in a voice which announced something of poetic inspiration, Ludovic uttered himself thus, in the silence of that solitude.

I.

When we cast our thoughts upon the past, three grand epochs are visible in the history of nations.

The first is that of antiquity; the age of Sappho and Aspasia, of Horace and Lucullus, of Alcibiades and Cæsar: brilliant epoch—reign of the senses.

The second is the epoch of Christianity; the time of Augustine and Athanasius, of St. Louis and Du Guesclin, of Pascal and Bossuet: moral epoch—reign of the soul.

The third commences with the century of Voltaire and Helvetius, of Condillac and Smith, of Bentham and Fulton: utilitarian epoch—reign of the intellect.

The first is the age of pleasure; the second, of sentiment; the third, of interest.

II.

The pagan world owed its joys to the splendor of its amphitheatres, to the divine chants of its poets, to the genius of its artists, to its triumphant festivals, to its brilliant revelry, and its wealth of gods and slaves.

The Christian world, grave and solemn as the religious edifices of the middle ages, found its delight in meditation, collectedness, austerity, and sacrifice.

The world of to-day has neither circus nor cloister, neither gladiators or anchorites; it has manufactures. Indifferent to the charm of feeling and enthusiasm, it aspires only to material good.

III.

The pagan divinities addressed themselves to the passions, not to combat, but to strengthen them. They offered seducing images to the mind, and pleasure without remorse to the senses.

But Christ came, who has said to man, "The grandeur of earth is naught, for the poor are the equals of the rich. Passion is sterile; Love [la charité] alone fertilizes the soul. Happiness is to be found neither in wealth, glory, nor pleasure: ye deserve it only by virtue—ye enjoy it only in heaven.

All the theories of our day leave man grovelling upon the earth. All is put in motion, simply to provide his body with a pleasant and commodious abode.

IV.

It was the triumph of the Greek or Roman artist when his wanton pictures, or immodest sculptures, had awakened the imagination. It was the glory of the Christian Pontiff, when he had implanted in the soul some germs of faith and virtue.

In our times, honor to him who makes machines: *there* lies the want of the people.

Cato and Brutus gave themselves the death-blow, to escape the grief of seeing their country expire: middle ages show us the martyrs of faith and honor; the business man of modern times, commits suicide after bankruptcy.

V.

During the intermediate age, meditation and faith created an entirely moral world, composed of religion and philosophy, of ideas and sentiments. A secret, inner life went on in men's consciences, which was not seen without. It was the life of the soul, with all its immaterial passions, its sublime joys, and its profound sorrows. Then the hand wrought little, and the body was mortified; but it was the soul that was rich, and therefore it was in a state of unceasing activity. This spirituality has gone from the hearts of men; their existence is now entirely exterior. The body is continually active in pursuit of material things, time is spent in useful labors, and lest thought should prevent work, the soul is condemned to inertness and sterility.

VI.

Material utility! This is the end to which all modern societies are tending; but this tendency has to struggle, in Europe, with feudal manners, morals, and manners. The present still submits to the influence of the past.

Though we are destitute of religion, we still have magnificent temples. Though utilitarianism is growing upon us, we still have splendid palaces filled with libraries, museums, and academies.

The most vulgar souls, the most indolent minds, pay homage among us to genius and virtue. The man in our cities who has forfeited honor, still bends before the statue of Bayard.

America knows nothing of these embarrassments. She goes forward in the path towards material good, without prejudices to constrain, or passions to trouble her.

VII.

Seek not in this land for poetry, literature, nor the fine arts. The universal equality of conditions, casts a monotonous shade over the whole of society. No one is utterly ignorant, but then no one knows much; and what more dull than mediocrity? Poetry exists only in extremes; in great joy, or great wretchedness, celestial light or infernal darkness. The life of kings, or the condition of the poor.

VIII.

But in American society is there neither shadow nor light—neither heighth nor depth; and therein lies the proof that it is material; for wherever the soul reigns, it is seen rising or falling. Above the ordinary height of intellect, sparkles brilliant genius,—above the mass of benumbed souls, flames the enthusiastic heart. Only matter can afford a dead level.

IX.

Is then, the moral world subject to the same laws as physical nature? Is it necessary, to the appearance of educated minds, that the ignorance of the masses should serve them, instead of shadow? Does individual greatness shine above the crowd, only as the summits of high mountains, sparkling in snow and light, predominate over the black precipices?

X.

There is such a thing as poetic ignorance. In the age when Dante immortalized himself by a book, appeared Du Guesclin, who knew not the alphabet. When the constable would give his personal obligation, it was not by signature, because he knew not how; but he pledged his faith, which was everywhere acknowledged good.

This gross ignorance is never met in the United States, whose inhabitants, to the number of twelve millions, all understand reading, writing, and accounts.

XI.

In America, a theatre and spectators are wanting for the production of brilliant characters. If aristocratic countries are fertile in splendid and poetical personages, it is because the superior class furnishes the actors and the theatre; the piece being played before the people, who constitute the pit, and behold the scene only from a distance.

The Roman aristocracy played its part before the world; Louis XIV. before Europe. When ranks are confounded, individuals, seen near at hand, are undistinguished; there are still actors, but no personages; a stage, but no longer a theatre.

XII.

All societies embosom peurile vanity, enormous pride, ambition, intrigue, and rivalry, but these passions are elevating or debasing, grand or mean, according to the condition and genius of nations.—Turenne was almost as proud of his birth as of his glory; Ninon was *galante;* the great Bossuet was jealous of Fénelon. The Americans strive but for money—are proud but of money, jealous but of money; and therefore no such points of character can make any name of consequence to the world, or cast any light upon the future.

XIII.

Still there exists in America somewhat bearing resemblance to the feudal aristocracy.

The work-shop is the manor: the manufacturer, the Lord Suzerain; the workmen are the serfs; but what of splendor is there in this industrial feudalism? the battlemented castle, its deep moat, its lovely lady, and its loyal knight, were not unpoetical.

But what harmonies can the modern poet draw from counting-houses, distilleries, steam engines, and paper money?

XIV.

The masses in the United States reign everywhere and always, jealous of superiority, and prompt to put it down; for mediocrity of intellect repels superiority of mind, as weak eyes love the darkness, and fear the noon-day light. Seek not here, therefore, monuments in memory of illustrious men. I know that this people have had heroes, but nowhere have I seen their statues. Washington alone has busts, inscriptions, a column; for Washington, in the eyes of Americans, is not a man, but a god.

XV.

The American nation seems to have been condemned from its birth to a lack of poesy. There is, in the obscurity that surrounds the cradle of nations, somewhat of the fabulous, which encourages hardihood of imagination. Those shadowy ages are always the heroic times. In antiquity, of the Trojan war; in the middle ages, the crusades.—When the people have become enlightened, there are no longer demi-gods. The Americans of the United States constitute, perhaps, the only nation which has not had a mysterious infancy. Surrounded at its birth by the illumination of riper years, they have themselves written the history of the earliest day; and the printing-press which precedes them, is charged with the registry of the slightest cries of the swaddled infant.

XVI.

Poetry began in France, with the songs of the troubadour, and the loves of knighthood. Such could not be its origin in the United States. The men of this country, however profound their respect for women, despise the exterior forms of gallantry. A lovely woman in the midst of men, wandering on her route, or abandoned on board a vessel, would never have to fear insult, but then she would never be the object of homage. They *know* the worth of women in America, but they do not make it the subject of song.

XVII.

Scarcely was the American nation born, than political and industrial life took possession of all its moral energy. Its institutions, fruitful of Liberty, recognize the rights of all. Americans have too many political interests, to pre-occupy themselves with literary ones. When, at the close of the last century, twenty-five millions of Frenchmen were governed, according to the good pleasure of a woman of pleasure, they could be tranquil in the affairs of the country, amuse themselves with frivolities, and devote themselves, body and soul, to the quarrel between two musicians.

Placing little confidence on men in power, the Americans are self-governed. Public life is not, for them, in the saloons, and at the opera, but at the tribune and the clubs.

XVIII.

When political life ceases, commercial life begins. *In* the United States everybody follows some occupation, because industry is necessary to all. In a society of perfect equality, labor is the common lot; each one works to live;—no one lives to think.—There are *there* no privileged classes, who, through the monopoly of riches, enjoy a monopoly of leisure.

XIX.

All here work: but the life of the laborer is essentially material. His soul slumbers while his body is at work, and when his limbs repose, his mind does not become active. Labor is to him as pain,—idleness as recompense: he knows not leisure. It is quite a science to learn to enjoy the things of the spirit and the intellect. [Choses morales.]—Nature does not give us this faculty, which springs from education alone, and the habits of a liberal life. One should not be able to say all on a sudden, after a life spent in amassing gold and silver, "Now I am going to lead an intellectual life." No—man is not so constituted. The reptile to the earth—the eagle to the skies. Men of mind think—men of money *never* think.

XX.

It is not that they lack authors in the United States, but that the authors have no public.

It is possible to find writers to make books, for book-making is *work;* readers alone are wanting, for to read requires leisure.

The public reacts upon the author; whom you will never find perseveringly determined to produce literary works for a public that wants them not.

XXI.

Suppose that chance gives birth to an inspired poet, in the bosom of this business world: Think you that his genius will direct his career? No! genius itself yields to the influence of the atmosphere that surrounds it. None can well express enthusiasm before those who feel it not. One sings not long to the deaf. The inspiration of the poet and the writer, warmed by sympathy, is frozen by indifference and coldness.

XXII.

In this work-day world, the first among professions is that which makes most *money*. The trade of authorship being least lucrative, is below all the others. Say to the American that literary life is more beautiful than the pursuit of fortune, and he will accord you that smile of pity that one gives to the conversation of a madman. Exalt in his presence, the glory of Homer, and of Tasso, and he will tell you that Homer and Tasso died poor.—Away with that genius which brings not riches to the possessor.

XXIII.

In America, science is esteemed only in its application. They study, here, the useful arts—not the fine arts.

Germany and France *invent* theories:—in the United States they put them in *practice*. Here men do not dream—they act. Everybody aims at the same end—material good; and as money is the source of it, it is money that they seek.

(To be continued.)

From the Saturday Emporium.

THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

BY REV. FREDERICK W. HOLLAND.

(Concluded.)

In reply to the argument from even a solitary case of this kind, that we should not commit what may prove an irreparable act of injustice, the friends of capital punishment reply, with Mr. Cheever, "but, if you imprison him one year unnecessarily, you can never make up for that suffering and infamy." A very singular evasion. Every other injury can be made up to a man but the taking of life; nothing can atone for that. An unjust imprisonment may be compensated by the public honor and trust in following years: it is a very cold comfort to a man injured to the last degree to wave the national flag over his grave. Many and many, like the Apostles, have found prison walls echo sweetly back the thanksgiving hymn of a cheerful heroism; but the scaffold does not deck itself out in the same roseate hue of hope: for it alone there can be no earthly recompense of reward. Jeremy Bentham well remarks, that "no man, however slightly versed in criminal procedure, but feels terror when he recollects on how slight a circumstance, on a minute fact brought to light at the critical moment," depends oft-times the life of the accused. "The innocent," says Mr. Livingston, one of the profoundest writers on the subject, "have suffered the death of the guilty: the innocent will suffer. We know it. The horrible truth stares us in the face. We dare not deny and cannot evade it. I have witnessed more than one condemnation, which would now be reversed if the sufferers were within reach of mercy. And did no other cogent reason exist, this alone would make me hail the decree for its abolition as an event so honorable to my country, and so consoling to humanity, as to be cheaply purchased by the labor of a life."

Another very serious objection with the mass of the religious world ought to be, that this judicial death cuts off many a poor sinner from his last chance of salvation—blasts his solitary remaining hope—eclipses the faint glimmer of the heavenly morn by an eternal night. "He that shortens human life," says Wilberforce, "jeopardizes an immortal soul." "Could it be proved," writes Pell to the Marquis of Northampton, "that, from the time man began his existence, either by wanton murder or legal sacrifice one immortal spirit has been plunged into torment, which had life been spared would have found a different fate, I might close the argument." Two facts are perfectly clear to all who have entered into the well known circumstances of the case. The mass of the executed do not die impenitent: the mass *might* die so. Nine out of ten, and even more, might taste the blessedness of divine mercy, who now are hurled into eternity quite as much unprepared as if shot down on the pirate deck, or in the smuggler's foray. We speak advisedly here. An examination of the criminal calendar of our largest American State proves that nearly every convicted murderer might be recovered to himself and to God. A fourth part of these cases were under circumstances of the highest provocation, in vindication of a man's most sacred rights, to purify a household from the leprosy of the adulterer: these men were evidently more sinned against than sinning. Another fourth had taken life in drunken brawls—not a very incurable form of disease, as the progress of the latest temperance movement has shown. A sixth part had been insane at intervals, and only one in nine that had deep-seated malice, over which hope wrings her hands and hides her head. As one accustomed to teach in jails and prisons, we pronounce the majority of murderers, so far from being incarnate fiends, as they are called, perfectly capable of conversion and renewal.

To the objection that capital punishment destroys this possibility of recovery, Rev. Mr. Cheever replies "that the great motive afforded by the certainty of death counterbalances the loss of the opportunities afforded by lengthened days in penitentiary discipline. We are glad to meet him on this point. His statement is all absurdity from beginning to end. There is no such certainty of death. In the famous case of John C. Colt, hope was kept alive by not unreasonable lookings for pardon until the very last. Wakefield, from his long Newgate experience, states "that the valuable time of the malefactor is wholly wasted in encouraging expectations of pardon, and in efforts to keep up a determined carriage to the last day, even on which he flatters himself it may arrive. This is the state of nine out of ten until the eve of the fatal morning, when fatigued, weak, and worn out with his efforts, the mind becomes suddenly depressed with disappointment; he then falls into a state of stupor, on which it is too late to make any beneficial, religious impression." We should like to hear of any worse state for receiving spiritual counsel than this trembling hesitation, this hoping and then despairing indecision, this almost insane excitement of mind. Add to this the two causes which benumb the conscience of the sentenced murderer, that, as Fry remarks, "he expects, by a violent death, to make atonement for all his sins;" and that from an early period in the career of crime, he has brutalized his soul with the expectation of an awful end, and has made it a point of honor at last, "to die game."

And when I reflect upon the effect of Caius's world-known remorse, in deterring the hordes among whom he wandered from a like outrage—when I remember the signal service rendered by that acknowledged murderer, David, after as well as before his crime—when I recall one pardoned criminal's return to virtue and hope like Theron Cheney, I am constrained to cry out when one candidate for divine mercy would shorten the precious hours God has given another to return! On the popular view of the decision of all eternity by the dying hour, it seems most monstrous—on any view, it seems unchristian, cruel, and a profane invasion of the prerogatives of the Almighty.

We come now to the main question with legislators and the public at large, the expediency of the matter. And we can afford to give in whatever advantage might be obtained by the shudder necessarily felt at the infliction of death for anything short of murder, though there are other crimes wounding society in a tenderer point, and meriting a severer retribution.

Until a very recent period, the gallows has been universally regarded as the very severest punishment, and the most effectual terror to evil-doers. It has been regarded as a conceded point by gentlemen of refined habits and quiet virtues, that nothing could so awe the vicious as the hangman's hemp. Perhaps nothing is so awful to them. But they are not the class for whom this last vestige of barbarism is retained. It is man who hazards life without a thought at the deadly breach, on the smuggler's deck, beneath the pirate's bloody flag, in eagerly-coveted affrays with the police, and with one another—men who prize life as a straw, and spend life as if in haste it should be gone—men whom the one redeeming vocation of the sword is to cut away from the festering body politic—men who jest over a comrade's corpse, and talk in their merry mood of a brace swung at last, and swarm around the instrument of death with jibe and joke, and wantonness, and profanity, and outrage. That such beings were ever deterred from crime by the gallows, all history and all reason disprove. Lord Bacon, one of the wisest of earth's wise men, remarked long ago of this dread of death, that "there is no passion in the human mind so weak but it masters it. Revenge triumphs over it; honor aspires to it; grief fleeth to it; fear pre-occupieth it. Nay, we read that after Otho had slain himself, pity, which is the tenderest of affections, moved many to die out of mere compassion, and as the truest sort of followers. General experience, besides the experience which this very question presents, writes out the same fact in luminous letters. A senator petitioned Tiberius, that his sufferings might be shortened by immediate execution: "I am not reconciled enough with you for that," was the reply of the ingenious tyrant. In presence of a previous emperor, an Indian Brahmin begged permission to die on a *funeral* pile, for the sake of that same glory, which, for a shilling a-day, could have half England to die on some new Waterloo. The retreating [illegible] of the French retreat from Moscow was continually mowed down by the terrible Cossacks, but again and again, the undaunted Ney led up a fresh corps to the post of death. A miserable and premature end is the necessary consequence of hard drinking; yet, when, as Gilbert Wakefield remarks, has the certainty of this infamous doom recovered the veteran inebriate? If reformed at all, it is by far better motives.

But the experience on this very subject, limited as it is, changes probability to demonstration. The death penalty utterly fails in preventing crime, while the merciful severity of life imprisonment, diminishes and all but eradicates murder. Sir James Macintosh governed Bombay for seven years without one capital punishment, and with no increase of crime. In Tuscany, under the influence of the celebrated Beccaria, death was no longer inflicted for murder; and while the similar community at Rome had twenty murders a month, and executions in proportion, there were but five murders in Tuscany for twenty years. In Belgium the same experiment had the same result. For the five years ending with 1804, there were 150 murders, and executions to the like amount: the five years without capital punishment, to 1834, gave but twenty murders, or one to seven and a half. The execution of 72,000 thieves under Henry VIII. left the English highway as infested as ever. Although hardly a day passed during Elizabeth's reign, but there was a hanging, yet rogues of every kind swarmed like the plagues of Egypt. But space fails us to give any fair specimen of the facts sustaining this view.

So far from the gibbet's being a profitable moral spectacle, our State legislators are commencing to banish it from public view—to confine the wholesome scene to a jail yard, and a few hundred spectators. They dare not any longer give the very example which is so omnipotent to cure! Thus they yield to us their strongest point, and acknowledge that the example is demoralizing; that, as Mr. Fry remarks, "it lowers the estimate of human life, excites the spirit of revenge, and prompts to murder and suicide." A thousand witnesses could be summoned to this point. A pickpocket told the chaplain of Newgate, that public executions were their great harvests. One of the jury that tried Dr. Dodd, was himself hung on the same gallows two years afterward, and for the same crime. At Sager's execution in Augusta, (Me.) the police nearly filled the jail with the disorderly spectators of the solemn scene. Every execution, says Dr. Lushington, in Parliament, brings a new candidate to the gallows. After Leehler's execution, in Pennsylvania, the irons taken off of his limbs were fastened on a man, who had committed murder as he was going home from the spot.

Fountleroy first conceived of the crime for which he suffered on seeing another suffer for the same. And an instance occurred in Ohio, of one execution prompting the offence which it punished, and the second infliction of death occasioning the same crime again. At least one other instance of the same sort has already come to light. Of 167 murderers in England, 164 had been in the habit of witnessing executions. But somewhere we must pause.

We can easily imagine a more awful penalty than the gallows—a *murderer's prison*, separate from all other prisons—beyond the power of pardon, except in case of the after demonstration of innocence—its convicts' earnings applied to the support of their families when they had any, and their intercourse with the world terminated forever—the terrible words of the Italian poet inscribed over the gate, "Who enter here leave hope behind." This doom would be unspeakably more severe, yet less cruel than the gallows; its sight would not brutalize the community, but would, year after year, continue to moan forth its dismal warnings; no jury would palter with their oaths because of the natural horror at taking life in cold blood—the question having already arisen in some States, between no punishment at all and a substitute for the scaffold—the criminal himself would become (what all churches are coveting as their high mission) prepared to die—the intemperate man would be released from the fascination of his darling sin—the ambitious would relinquish every thought of distinction—the covetous would forget his schemes of wealth: left much to himself, with simple food, constant labor, and suitable moral teaching, everything would favor the return of the poor prodigal to his Father's house. His own conscience would resume her reign. His heart open with new sentiments, sympathies, and aspirations. His life prepared to change in God's time, from a healing solitude to a blessed society, from one continued privation to one endless joy!

Will not humanity gather strength, under the impulse of these facts, to repeat the words which moved the Emperor Augustus to mercy, and saved his tribunal from the pollution of passion, "Hangman, begone!"

ROCHESTER, N. Y. July, 1845.

From the Evening Mirror.

A VISIT TO THE BLIND SCULPTOR OF THE TYROL.

There is at present existing in the Tyrol, a phenomenon connected with art, which probably stands alone in the history of the world—no other than a carver in wood, who, having been stone blind from the age of five years, nevertheless produces statues, groups, and heads, of extraordinary merit as works of art, and even *portraits* of individuals that are excellent likenesses. The following extract from the letter of a recent traveller in the Tyrol, will be read with strong interest by all classes, but especially by those who are acquainted with the extraordinary difficulties connected with the art of carving in wood or stone.

INSPRUNCK, Aug. 8, 1845.

I have just quitted a poor cottage of this city, the inhabitant of which, would have deeply interested you—as he has done me. This cottage consisted of one small room, the sole furniture of which, was a miserable bed, a half-broken harpsichord, and a wooden bench, on which lay certain pieces of wood, and tools for carving it. This room is the abode of an old man, seventy years of age, named Kleinhaus, who suffers under the cruellest privation to which humanity is subject, but who, by patience and perseverance, has gained a victory over adverse circumstances, which must excite the wonder and admiration of all who hear of them.

At the age of five years, Kleinhaus was attacked by small-pox, which left him stone blind. Before this period he had been accustomed constantly to play with those small figures carved in wood, which are so numerous in the cottages of the Tyrol, and had on one or more occasion got hold of a knife and tried to carve one for himself. On finding himself deprived of light, and of the power of looking upon his favorite playthings, he was constantly thinking with delight of the traits of the various figures of virgins and saints, which he had attempted to imitate, and was never easy but when he had one of them in his hands, *feeling* them all over, and, as it were, trying to *see* them with his fingers. By dint of this constant handling, he came at length to be so familiar with the relative proportions, positions, &c. of the objects of his attention, that he could, by the touch alone, tell with great accuracy whether any figure presented to him, whether in wood, in bronze, or in marble, possessed the requisite qualities and proportions of a work of art.

When Kleinhaus found that he had acquired this extraordinary power of touch—which in the case of the objects in question, almost stood him in stead of the sense he had lost—he bethought himself whether he could not, by the aid of the same faculty, execute what he felt that he could so justly appreciate.

At this time he had lost both his parents, and was utterly destitute of any means of support; and the alternatives which presented themselves to him were, to beg, or to hit upon some method by which he could with his own hands provide himself with the means of subsistence. He determined to adopt the latter; accordingly, he procured a piece of wood and a chisel, and set to work to produce one of those images, with the form of which his touch had rendered him so familiar. His first efforts were as difficult and painful as they were abortive; often did a false stroke of his chisel, or a too vigorous one, destroy the work of many long and laborious days. Any one but himself would have been discouraged by his repeated failures, into abandoning his strange design. But this poor and solitary peasant was gifted by nature, with an indomitable power of will, and a deep love of art, for itself alone, apart from the mere worldly good he might hope to derive from its practice. Briefly, after innumerable efforts, more or less successful, Kleinhaus attained that extraordinary firmness and precision of hand, which enabled him to work out, step by step, and bit by bit the entire details of the figure on which he was employed, even to the contour of the limbs, and the traits of the countenance. Nay, incredible as it may seem, he has actually arrived at the power of first impressing upon his mind by the touch, and then transferring them to wood, the traits of individual countenances, so as to produce *portraits* that are striking likenesses! In the Museum of Insprunck, there is a bust of the Emperor Ferdinand, cut in wood by the hand of Kleinhaus, from a marble bust of a German sculptor, and which is said to be as good a likeness as the original bust modeled from the life. There is also, in his own cottage, a bust of one of his relations, which is still more extraordinary, since it was produced from merely passing his hands over the living face of the individual represented, and the likeness of which is said to be perfect.

Kleinhaus, though he has, as I have said, attained the allotted age of man, is perfectly upright, robust, and healthy. In his face there is an expression of great sweetness and beneficence; and every day of his peaceful life is employed in working at his art, as industriously as he did in the days of his youth. He has, during his long career, executed no less than three hundred and fifty figures of the Saviour, of various sizes, and a hundred heads of Madonnas, and Saints; and he showed me in his work-shop a crucifixion, three feet in height, to which he has adapted a machinery of his own invention, which causes the head of Christ slowly to raise itself from the breast, open the eyes and the lips, gradually shut them, and drop the head again on the breast, in the agony of the last Passion.

It is not very creditable to the countrymen of this indefatigable artist, that he is as poor now, as when he commenced his extraordinary career. By and by, they will doubtless erect a monument to his memory; at present, they leave him to subsist from day to day on the results of his labor.

In the meantime, however, the poor and still solitary artist, has been gifted by heaven with a light and happy heart, which no vain desires agitate, and no empty ambition troubles. His thoughts are entirely occupied by the work on which he is engaged; and his happy dreams are filled by the celestial images it is his delight to represent.

In looking at this remarkable old man, as he was chiseling a saintly group of infinite grace and expression, I could not help thinking of the deaf Beethoven, when in the act of creating his wonderful compositions. But Kleinhaus has a consolation, which was wanting to the great composer. "I *feel*," said he to me, "in its minutest details, every piece of sculpture which is presented to me, and every one which I execute myself, and appreciate and enjoy its qualities precisely the same as if they were present to my bodily sight."

By the bye, Kleinhaus has himself composed both the music and words of a sort of canticle, or hymn, (which he sang to me, accompanying himself on his old harpsichord,) expressive of the resignation he feels under his sad deprivation.

When the noble old man had finished his hymn, I could not help seizing both his hands with an uncontrollable emotion. On quitting him I took with me, at the moderate price he fixed upon them, the only two finished figures that remained in his work-shop; and I shall retain them as mementoes of one of the best-spent days of all my travels.

A QUAINT SERMON.

Mr. Dodd was a minister, who lived many years ago a few miles from Cambridge; and having several times been preaching against drunkenness, some of the Cambridge scholars (conscience, which is sharper than ten thousand witnesses, being their monitor,) were very much offended, and thought he made reflections on them. Some little time after, Mr. Dodd was walking towards Cambridge, and met some of the students, who, as soon as they saw him at a distance, resolved to make some ridicule of him. As soon as he came up, they accosted him with, "Your servant, Sir!" He replied, "Your servant, gentlemen!" They asked him if he had not been preaching very much against drunkenness of late? He answered in the affirmative. They then told him they had a favor to beg of him, and it was that he would preach a sermon to them *there*, from a text they should choose. He argued that it was an imposition, for a man ought to have some consideration before preaching. They said they would not put up with a denial, and insisted on his preaching immediately, (in a hollow tree which stood by the roadside,) from the word M.A.L.T. He then began: "Beloved, let me crave your attention. I am a little man—come at a short notice to preach a short sermon—from a short text—to a thin congregation—in an unworthy pulpit. Beloved, my text is *Malt*. I cannot divide it into sentences, there being none; nor into words, there being but one; I must therefore, of necessity, divide it into letters, which I find in my text to be these four—M. A. L. T.

"M—is Moral.
"A—is Allegorical.
"L—is Literal.
"T—is Theological.

"The Moral, is to teach you rustics good manners: therefore M—my Masters, A—All of you, L—Leave off, T—Tippling.

"The Allegorical is, when one thing is spoken of, and another meant. The thing spoken of is Malt.—The thing meant is the spirit of Malt, which you rustics make, M—your Meat, A—your Apparel, L—your Liberty, and T—your Trust.

"The Literal is, according to the letters, M—much, A—Ale, L—Little, T—Trust.

"The Theological is, according to the effects it works—in some, M—Murder—in others, A—Adultery—in all, L—Looseness of Life, and in many, T—Treachery.

"I shall conclude the subject, First, by way of Exhortation. M—my Masters, A—All of you, L—Listen, T—To my Text. Second, by way of Caution. M—my Masters, A—All of you, L—Look for, T—the Truth. Third, by way of communicating the Truth, which is this:—A Drunkard is the annoyance of modesty; the spoil of civility; the destruction of reason; the robber's agent; the alehouse's benefacter; his wife's sorrow; his children's trouble; his own shame; his neighbor's scoff; a walking swill-bowl; the picture of a beast; the monster of a man!"

"HE WAS LOCKED UP."—Who was locked up? What was the culprit's sin against society? What iniquity had he—"a poor sickly boy, about fifteen years of age,"—committed, that the awful Mr. Combe, sitting in his magisterial chair at Clerkenwell, should punish the prisoner, (who had not 2s. 6d, to pay a fine,) with hard captivity! What, asks the moralist, was his evil doing?" Listen, and sigh over the wickedness of humanity. The sickly boy" had obstructed "the foot-path and carriage-way in Chapel street, St. Pancras, with his basket of fruit for sale!" The audacious malefactor, "with tears in his eyes, said he had no other way to live;" and the offending destitute wretch, was, therefore—locked up!—*Punch.*

CIRCULAR.

It is proposed to publish, in *monthly numbers*, a work entitled "THE KOSMIAN," containing a series of Letters, written from the United States, by *Ahmed El Korah*, to his friend in Algiers, translated from the original Showiah, by the author, and edited by FRANCES H. GREEN.

Ahmed's Letters virtually contain a *History of the Anti-Slavery movement* in this country, embracing a period of about twenty years: and they not only show the history of the times, but they illustrate the spiritual progress of the individual. Many interesting subjects are discussed in the course of the correspondence, such as the *Condition of Seamen—of the Southern Slaves—of Northern Laborers—of the Industrial classes of Women*—and of *Domestic Servants—Party Spirit—Treatment of the Indians*—and *Cruelty to Animals*—with a particular account of all the great *Mobs, Riots,* and *other breaches of Law*, which illustrate the pro-slavery spirit, and mark the progress of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

The author has no party bias, whatever. He speaks as if under a peremptory obligation to utter *the truth*—being restrained by no bonds, whether sectarian or political. He utters his thoughts in the free out-pouring and confidence of bosom friendship; and we know that he is moved by a strong love of liberty—and of the race. *His party is Humanity—his platform the wide world.*

The Editor respectfully solicits encouragement in her arduous undertaking, trusting that the *Friends of Freedom* universally will promptly second her efforts; which nothing but *the hope of doing good*, could have suggested, or would sustain.

"THE KOSMIAN" will be published in numbers, of 32 pages each, octavo size, printed in fair type, on good paper, stitched together, and issued *monthly*, at the price of $1,00 a year, *payable on the reception of the third number.* Persons procuring five names, shall be entitled to six copies.

It is hoped that the friends to whom this Circular may be sent, will be regardful of its claims, and procure as many names as possible. They will please forward them to the subscriber, on or before the first of January next. The work will be issued as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers shall have been obtained.

FRANCES H. GREEN.
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JONATHAN LAMBORN,
LEWIS LAMBORN.
Kennett Square, Oct. 9, 1845.—3m.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*
BROUGHTON MEADOWS,
Northampton, April 14, 1845.

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The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

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